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Adolecents' Daily Experience of Parenting Styles and Alcohol Use

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ADOLESCENTS' DAILY EXPERIENCE OF PARENTING STYLES AND ALCOHOL USE

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Historically, adolescence has been viewed as a developmental phase during which teenage children become relatively impervious to the influence of their parents (Glynn, 1981; Sebald & White, 1980). In the past 15 years the view that adolescents become invulnerable to parental socialization has been contradicted by research findings. In its place, a new view contends that although there are changes in the parent-adolescent relationship during the second decade of life, parents continue to have a significant role as socializing agents in the lives of developing adolescents (e.g., Hill, 1987; Steinberg, 1990).

At the same time, problematic adolescent substance use is frequently viewed as a sign that parental authority and socialization have broken down or become ineffective. In the place of a healthy parent-child relationship, heavy adolescent alcohol users frequently develop an extreme alignment with peer norms and socialization (Newcomb & Bentler, 1988a; Winfree, 1985).

Despite a strikingly consistent literature on the relative effectiveness of authoritative parenting, defined as parents who are both warm and strict in their child-rearing,

many questions remain regarding why this child-rearing style is generally successful (Steinberg, Elman & Mounts, 1989). In an attempt to clarify the relationship between child rearing style and adolescent outcomes, Darling and Steinberg (1993) proposed the Contextual Model of parenting style.

The present study attempts to integrate research on adolescent socialization (e.g., Baumrind, 1991a; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts & Dornbusch, 1994) and research investigating the daily experience of adolescence (e.g., Larson & Richards, 1989; Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck & Duckett, 1995). A Multi-method data collection, including Experience Sampling Method data (ESM, Larson & Csikzentmihalyi, 1983), provided a unique picture of the socialization process during adolescence. These novel data provide an assessment of the quality of parent-adolescent relationships associated with differing parenting styles.

Adolescence

Adolescence is a developmental period marked by rapid change in many aspects of the lives of teenage children (Baer, Garmezy, McLaughlin, Pokorny & Wernick, 1987). Changes in the biological, cognitive, social-cognitive, emotional, contextual, and self-definitional systems occur and significantly impact the parent-child relationship (Greenberger, 1984; Holmbeck, Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, in press). Although adolescence may not be a developmental period marked by dramatic "storm and stress" as has been

popularly believed (Holmbeck & Hill, 1988; Montemayor, 1983, 1986; Rutter, Graham, Chadwick, & Yule, 1976), some authors (Baumrind, 1987; Baer et al., 1987) contend that a period marked by as much change and development as adolescence is naturally "disequilibrating." The result is increased vulnerability, especially to problem behavior such as alcohol and drug abuse (Jessor & Jessor, 1977). At the same time it is a phase rich with possibilities for healthy growth and development.

Alcohol use, in particular, may represent a unique "crossroad" issue due to findings which indicate that it is associated with both healthy growth and development (Baumrind, 1991a; Shendler & Block, 1990) while at the same time being associated with alcohol abuse and a host of negative outcomes (Jessor, Chase, & Donovan, 1980). Increased recognition of the role parents play in the socialization of their children during this transitional phase has led to an increase in the amount and sophistication of research in this area over the past decade (Holmbeck et al., in press).

Related to changes occurring within adolescents, a number of other factors make adolescence an inherently stressful period. Adolescents lack a comfortable ecological niche to call their own; they are too mature to continue behaviors of their childhood, yet are unprepared to behave in a fully autonomous manner like the adult counterparts they are expected to become (Greenberger, 1984). Baumrind (1991a)

argues that contemporary adolescents may be more susceptible to dangerous "risk-taking behavior" because American society today is itself in transition and therefore cannot provide an optimal level of safety and structure. In her opinion, effective parenting in such a social context requires increased levels of strictness and monitoring on the part of parents.

The traditional belief that parental influence weakens when their offspring reach adolescence is based in part on psychoanalytic theories of adolescent development (Brown, Mounts, Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993). Psychoanalytic theory asserts that the adolescent period is marked by intense conflict between parents and their teenage children as adolescents separate and individuate (Holmbeck & Hill, 1988; Montemayor, 1986). The intensity of friction is thought to be due to the moodiness of adolescents who are at the will of intensified drives (Freud, 1958). This level of conflict is viewed as necessary to break the bond of dependency on one's parents, especially in light of the re-emergence and intensification of the adolescents' sexual drives, allowing the adolescent to move away from his or her family and choose an appropriate mate (Freud, 1958). To counteract feelings of dependency, the adolescent experiences a crisis during which he/she turns away from the parents, defying parental standards and expectations in an attempt to develop an independent sense of identity. In place of parental support the adolescent

instead seeks counsel from same-age peers. Unlike earlier developmental periods, parents are believed to have little or no influence on their child's choice of peers (Brown et al., 1993).

Despite the tension and conflict inherent in this scenario, psychoanalytic theorists (Blos, 1979; Freud, 1958, 1966) consider this to be the healthiest adaptation to the conflicting needs of adolescents. Those who do not experience this crisis are viewed as less mature, having foreclosed on their personality development (Erikson, 1968; Freud, 1958). Continued closeness between parents and adolescents is considered regressive and stunting to adolescent development because it circumvents the necessary identity crisis (Freud, 1958).

The classic psychoanalytic view of adolescence has been consistently contradicted by research findings on a number of fronts (Montemayor, 1986). First, the parent-child relationship during the teen years is not marked by the intense conflict hypothesized by psychoanalytic theory (Glynn, 1981; Hartup, 1979; Holmbeck & Hill, 1988; Montemayor, 1986). Second, although somewhat moodier (Csikzentmihalyi & Larson, 1984), early adolescents do not experience dramatically intensified mood swings as suggested by theorists such as Anna Freud (1958, 1966). Third, research has consistently shown that adolescents continue to depend on parental input regarding decisions about long-term and goal-related issues,

despite increases in peer input regarding "present-oriented" issues (Glynn, 1981; Larson, 1972). These findings indicate that parents remain influential in the lives of their adolescents, particularly around issues of long-term importance. Finally, the traditional emphasis on separation and individuation as the crucial developmental task of this period is criticized for overlooking the need for adolescents to remain securely attached to their families (Bell & Bell, 1983; Peterson, 1986; Steinberg, 1990) and society in general (Greenberger, 1984).

A second influential theory in the investigation of adolescent development, particularly in adolescent problem behavior, is the "transition prone" theory of adolescence (Baumrind, 1987; Glynn, 1981). Proponents of the "transition prone" view (e.g., Jessor & Jessor, 1977; Kandel, 1978; Kandel, Kessler, & Margulies, 1978) suggest that firm control of adolescents is necessary because this transitional phase leaves adolescents vulnerable to serious risk-taking behavior. These recommendations are based on research findings that indicate many changes common in adolescence -- such as increased salience of peers and greater value on independence -- are associated with problematic outcomes such as lowered academic performance, precocious sexual experience, and problematic alcohol and drug use (Jessor & Jessor, 1977).

The psychoanalytic and "transition prone" views represent opposite extremes on how to effectively parent adolescents

(Baumrind, 1991a). Although psychoanalytic theory provides an alternative explanation for the increased conflict (Holmbeck & Hill, 1991) and susceptibility to peer pressure during early adolescence (Berndt, 1979), its emphasis on parent-adolescent disengagement as a healthy path to independence has been contradicted by research (Steinberg, 1990). Baumrind (1991a, 1991b) notes that her research, and that of others (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991) consistently demonstrates that parents who are unengaged in the lives and discipline of their children have adolescents with more problems.

The strength of the "transition prone" theory is the recognition that parents continue to be effective socializing agents during the second decade of their children's lives. The weakness of this view is its over-reliance on parental strictness alone to cope with normal changes associated with adolescence. Many of the changes that parents guard against are also associated with a healthy sense of autonomy and therefore should not be viewed as pathological (Baumrind, 1991a, 1991b). For example, experimentation or light use of alcohol does not necessarily lead to alcohol abuse (Newcomb & Bentler, 1989). It is possible that "transition prone" researchers focus too heavily on adolescent problem behavior (e.g., Jessor & Jessor, 1977; Kandel, Kessler & Margulies, 1978) and have over-generalized findings from a small, select group (problematic alcohol and drug users) to all adolescents. The vast majority of adolescents have some experience drinking

alcohol during their high school years, while only a fraction develop drinking problems or move on to serious drug abuse (Wentzel, 1987). Attempting to forestall or avoid the development of problem behaviors, "transition prone" theory may encourage parents to thwart healthy development (Baumrind, 1991a).

Baumrind (1991a, 1991b) contrasts her "contemporary view" with the psychoanalytic and "transition prone" positions. Her theory derives from a consensus developed by researchers "that continued (parental) engagement with adolescents enhances ego development and individuation" (Baumrind, 1987, p. 110). Baumrind (1991a) believes that her data "affirm the continuing importance of parents to the healthy development of their adolescents...(and) the success of authoritative parents in protecting their adolescents from problematic drug use and in generating competence" (p. 91).

Adolescent Alcohol Use

Adequate investigation of adolescent alcohol use and abuse requires an appropriate definition of problem drinking, which is a difficult task (Horan & Straus, 1980; Newcomb & Bentler, 1989). At one extreme are those who argue that alcohol is illegal for minors to purchase and consume and that precocious involvement with alcohol is dangerous due to the risk of negative outcomes. It is possible to argue that the disproportionate number of traffic-related accidents and deaths attributed to teenage alcohol use (Arnett, 1992a;

Chassin, 1984) suggest that alcohol involvement is too dangerous during this period. The zero-tolerance programs in schools and "Just Say No" campaign of the late 1980s and early 1990s are examples of mass media prevention programs aimed at eliminating entirely the initiation and use of alcohol and drugs (Jessor, 1992).

However, alcohol use among adolescents has long been considered a rite of passage (Baer et al., 1987). Although some argue that alcohol is as potentially harmful as illicit drugs (Horan & Straus, 1980), there is considerable evidence that while remaining an activity with some risk (Arnett, 1992a), alcohol use represents a less serious stage of substance use and is associated with fewer negative outcomes than illicit drug use (Donovan & Jessor, 1983; Kandel, 1975; Newcomb & Bentler, 1988b). In addition, light adolescent experimentation and substance use may be associated with more positive outcomes and mental health across selected outcomes (e.g., Shendler & Block, 1990). The present study rests on the assumption, based on recent research findings (e.g., Baumrind, 1991a; Shendler & Block, 1990), that light to moderate alcohol use during adolescence does not represent problematic behavior. This investigation aims to assess whether effective parenting style buffers adolescents from all alcohol use or simply from problematic levels of drinking.

Although defining alcohol abuse during adolescence is somewhat difficult, general agreement has developed regarding

what constitutes an unhealthy level of alcohol or substance use (Horan & Straus, 1980). First, alcohol use should neither interfere with important developmental tasks nor endanger the health or well-being of the user or others. For example, drinking that disrupts academic performance or important relationships (with family or peers) is interfering with important developmental tasks and indicates problematic rather than normative or experimental drinking. Also, some drugs, for example heroin or phencyclidine (PCP), are inherently dangerous and therefore represent problematic substance use no matter what dose or context in which they are used; but this is not necessarily true for drinking (Arnett, 1992a). Second, very frequent or very heavy (binge) drinking are both associated with negative outcomes for adolescents (Baumrind & Moselle, 1985; Schulenberg, Wadsworth, O'Malley, Bachman, & Johnston, 1994), and are indicative of problem drinking. Consumption of alcohol that results in police contact or driving while drinking are similarly problematic, representing the problems associated with a DSM-IV diagnosis of alcohol abuse (American Psychiatric Association, 1994).

Although a large literature on adolescent substance use exists, including considerable inquiry of family correlates of adolescent alcohol use, clearer insight into adolescent alcohol and drug use has been hampered by serious deficits in this literature (Jessor & Jessor, 1977; Larson, Csikzentmihalyi, & Freeman, 1984). Problems with this line of

research include many atheoretical studies which frequently replicate statistically significant findings with limited etiological importance (Larson et al., 1984). Specifically, many authors (e.g., Barnea, Teichman & Rahav, 1992; Dielman, Butchart, Shope & Miller, 1991; Johnson, 1986; Norem-Hebeisen & Hedin, 1983) have focused on the statistically powerful finding that peer substance use is associated with personal substance use, with little explanation of the role peer use plays in the development of problematic alcohol use. It is possible, that a third variable, such as a poor parent-adolescent relationship, may be associated with both variables (Jessor & Jessor, 1977). This literature has also been limited in its methodological scope (Larson et al., 1984) and has tended to consider just one aspect of the adolescents experience at a time (Crowe, Philbin, Richards, & Crawford, 1995).

Parenting Style

Investigation of parenting style was pioneered by Diana Baumrind in her longitudinal studies of childhood (1966, 1972, 1989) and adolescent socialization (1991a, 1991b). Two factors distinguish Baumrind's work from others, making her investigation of the socialization process uniquely rich and ecologically valid. First, her research has frequently been longitudinal, providing a view of socialization across the development of children and adolescents. This research pays particular attention to the specific needs children and

adolescents have at each stage of development. Second, and the most distinguishing characteristic of Baumrind's work, is her reliance on ecologically valid categorization of parenting style (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Baumrind (1966, 1972, 1991a, 1991b) bases her categorization on naturally occurring parent groups. This research methodology makes for a particularly in-depth picture of parental socialization. Her findings are supported by methodologically different studies with larger, diverse samples (Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn & Dornbusch, 1991).

Although much of Baumrind's research is based on the Caucasian middle- and upper-middle class subgroup of her longitudinal study (e.g., 1982, 1991a), she has also reported on the African-American subsample of her study (Baumrind, 1972). Her interest in the cultural context in which parental socialization occurs led her to investigate an African-American subgroup of her longitudinal sample separately to avoid inappropriate comparison of socio-culturally distinct subgroups.

Baumrind (1978a) argues that to be truly competent and productive in current American society requires the integration of the seemingly antagonistic necessities of social living: the need to be "other-oriented," cooperative and compliant with authority, while at the same time being "individualistic, autonomous" and agentic. It requires that individuals develop the capacity to balance immediate

gratification with the need to delay gratification for future gain. The development of these two broad classes of skills is the result of effective parental socialization and maturation. Baumrind (1966, 1972, 1978a, 1989, 1991a, 1991b) refers to the successful balance or integration of this seemingly contradictory set of demands -- to be cooperative and yet still personally authentic -- as "instrumental competence."

The socialization literature indicates that adolescents continue to need their parents to provide structure and rules in the context of an emotionally warm and supportive relationship (Allen et al., 1994; Baumrind, 1978a, 1991a; Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983; Holmbeck et al., in press; Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993; Steinberg, 1990). Optimally, an adolescent should feel that the rules are fair and that his/her needs are considered in their construction (Holmbeck et al., in press; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). As an adolescent matures, he or she is likely to expect more input and greater flexibility in the construction of rules that govern his or her life (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Parents who are warm/supportive and at the same time maintain their role in the development and carrying out the family rules are referred to as authoritative.

Holmbeck et al. (in press) note that effective parenting of adolescents involves the capacity to appropriately alter the family's rules as the child matures. This requires parents to see the autonomy strivings of their adolescents as

healthy and adaptive. Changes in cognitive functioning during adolescence allow teenage children to better understand and criticize the rules that govern their lives (Arnett, 1992a). Therefore, parents must effectively justify the reasoning for their rules and regulations (Holmbeck et al., in press). Parents who feel that questioning of their authority by their children is inappropriate at any age are less likely to encourage give-and-take interactions about these issues. However, normative conflict about rules is associated with closer mother-adolescent relationships longitudinally (Holmbeck & O'Donnell, 1991) and with higher levels of ego development (Hauser, Powers, Noam, Jacobsen, Weiss & Follansbee, 1984). Healthy ego development (a concept closely related to instrumental competency) may be particularly important because it facilitates other crucial developmental tasks such as psychosocial maturity (Greenberger, 1984), identity exploration (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985), and academic achievement (Steinberg et al., 1989).

In an influential paper, Maccoby and Martin (1983) outlined the dimensions of effective child-rearing from a social learning theory perspective. Parenting style is conceptualized as a measure of: (1) responsiveness (referred to elsewhere as warmth/closeness), and (2) demandingness (also referred to as firm control or strictness). The interaction of these dimensions creates a two-by-two matrix (see Figure 1) in which parents are rated high or low on each of these

dimensions (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Although often using different names and theoretical approaches for parenting groups in her research, Baumrind (1991a) acknowledges that her operationalization of parenting categorizations follows the basic dimensions of demandingness and responsiveness used by others (e.g., Brown et al., 1993; Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993; Steinberg, Lamborn & Dornbusch, 1992a).

		Demandingness	
		Low	High
Responsiveness	High	Indulgent	Authoritative
	Low	Neglectful	Authoritarian

Figure 1. Interaction of Parenting Style Dimensions. From: Maccoby & Martin (1983)

Demandingness and Responsiveness

Although demandingness and responsiveness are used as though they represent specific, well-defined parental behaviors, they actually refer to categories of effective parenting composed of several types of parental attitudes and behaviors (Baumrind, 1989; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Baumrind (1989) asserts that demandingness refers to the

parents' willingness to make maturity demands on, and monitor the activities of, their children and adolescents. Two hallmarks of highly demanding parents are their active involvement in the daily lives of their children (Coombs & Landsverk, 1988; Maccoby & Martin, 1983) and the willingness to be directly confrontational, even though it may be highly arousing to the adolescent and conflict is likely to ensue. In a related line of research, Allen et al. (1994), Hauser et al. (1984), and Powers, Hauser, Schwartz, Noam, and Jacobson (1983) report that adolescents whose parents are highly challenging (behavior that may be considered arousing to adolescents) score higher on measures of ego development when this challenging behavior occurs in the context of a supportive relationship. Thus, the willingness of parents who are supportive of their adolescents to be demanding, challenging, and even highly arousing appears to encourage increased maturity. Measurement of demandingness generally focuses on parents' rules and limit-setting about issues such as school, work, and curfew (e.g., Lamborn et al., 1991).

Healthy responsiveness includes affective warmth, attachment, cognitive responsiveness, sensitive attunement, involvement, and reciprocity (Baumrind, 1989). When survey data is used, the measurement of responsiveness generally includes assessment of an adolescent's feelings of emotional closeness, warmth, and the ability to turn to his or her parents for support (e.g., Lamborn et al., 1991).

Each dimension of parenting style, demandingness or responsiveness, is believed to be associated with a specific set of outcomes (Baumrind, 1987; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Steinberg, 1990). Parents who are rated highly demanding or use firm control appear to encourage the recognition of social norms and a sense of obedience (Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984). Responsive parenting encourages positive self-concept and self-esteem through warmth and support in the relationship with their parents (Buri, 1989, 1991; Buri, Louiselle, Misukanis, & Mueller, 1988; Buri, Murphy, Richtsmeier, & Komar, 1992; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994). Lower than average (lax) parental control is associated with externalizing problem behaviors, while a poor parent child relationship is associated with internalizing problems in early adolescents (Barber, Olsen, & Shagle, 1994).

Neglectful, Indulgent, Authoritarian, and Authoritative Parenting

Earlier conceptualizations of parenting style suggested that permissive parenting may encourage greater independence through the freedom provided (Newman & Newman, 1978); however, this has not been borne out by research (Lamborn et al., 1991). Recent reports demonstrate that two distinct permissive parenting styles exist: indulgent and neglectful.

Parents who are neither demanding nor responsive are referred to as *unengaged or neglectful*. These parents have generally forsaken their parental role, providing a great deal

of emotional autonomy but little relational support (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993). Baumrind (1991a) found the homes of unengaged parents disorganized. Neglectful mothers lacked a sense of agency and both parents were frequently judged to have behavior problems.

The freedom in both indulgent and neglectful homes leaves adolescents more vulnerable to involvement with negative behaviors, such as delinquency (Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984). Steinberg et al. (1992a) investigated parenting style and academic performance in a large (n=6400) and racially and socio-economically diverse sample of high school students, finding poorer academic performance among indulgently and neglectfully parented adolescents. However, longitudinal results indicate that these problems are pronounced in teenagers from neglectful homes compared to those whose parents use other parenting styles in a similarly large and diverse sample of high school students (Steinberg et al., 1994). Based on ratings of psychologists from her small (n=139) sample of Caucasian families, Baumrind (1991b) described these adolescents as the least pro-social and competent. They were inappropriately autonomous for their age. Maccoby and Martin (1983) believe that children from unengaged homes experience the lack of concern as a subtle form of rejection. Simons, Robertson, and Downs (1989) found that perceived parental rejection led to delinquent behavior in a sample of "normal" and substance abusing Midwestern

adolescents (defined to include alcohol use in this study).

Steinberg et al. (1994) reported that the deleterious effect of neglectful parenting significantly worsened over the course of their one-year longitudinal study in a large (n=2300), ethnically, racially, and socio-economically diverse sample of California adolescents. These authors described sharp drops in work orientation and sizable increases in delinquency and alcohol and drug use. They note "The overall pattern suggests...a troublesome trajectory characterized by academic disengagement and problem behavior" (p. 765).

Indulgent parents also lack firm control of their children and adolescents. Differentiating indulgent parents from neglectful parents is their warmth and responsiveness to their children's expressed needs. The philosophical underpinnings of this child-rearing style is a belief in the natural "capacity for self-actualization" (Baumrind, 1978a). It is believed that if a child is hemmed in through any expression of external authority, the individual's natural healthy tendencies are diminished. Rather than providing safety and structuring the child's experience, rules are viewed as the source of many problems (Baumrind, 1978b).

Baumrind (1978b) argues that those who adhere to such a position fail to recognize that competencies are not innately present nor a naturally unfolding process but develop through experience in a fostering environment. As part of her longitudinal study described earlier, Baumrind (1991a, 1991b)

found that indulgent parents allowed their adolescents considerable self-regulation and tended to avoid confrontation. Although mothers used little assertive control, both parents from these homes were rated as personally agentic and manifested few personal problems.

Authoritarian parents exhibit the opposite characteristics of those with an indulgent parenting style. These parents are sometimes referred to as over-controlling (Steinberg et al., 1994). They are rigid, paternalistic and tend to inhibit the expression of emotion within the family (Pelcovitz, Kaplan, Samit, Kreiger, & Cornelius, 1984). Obedience is highly valued by these families and some use coercive techniques or corporal punishment to ensure appropriate conduct. Authoritarian homes tend to be orderly, with a clear set of regulations. Conformity is valued over independence (Baumrind, 1991a). These parents strictly monitor and restrict the autonomy of their children and adolescents (Baumrind, 1978a). Children are expected to accept all parental decisions on an issue because these parents view themselves as the source of control for the child (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). As a result these parents are less likely to allow verbal negotiation. Parental strictness has long been associated with less problem behavior across a wide range of risk taking behaviors (Arnett, 1992a, 1992b). However, a recent report indicates that strictness alone may not be associated with less use of alcohol by adolescents

(Foxcroft & Lowe, 1995). In a sample using questionnaire data from more than 1000 British adolescents, Foxcroft and Lowe (1995) found that adolescent reports of parental control and parental warmth interacted to predict alcohol use with authoritatively raised girls drinking the least.

Although effective in deterring adolescent misbehavior, studies also indicate that adolescents with authoritarian parents have lower self-esteem (Buri et al., 1988) and tend to be less psychologically mature than their peers (Baumrind, 1991a, 1991b; Lamborn et al., 1991). There are likely to be two overlapping reasons for their lack of maturity. First, because of their paternalistic style, authoritarian parents do not allow their children sufficient opportunity to self-regulate and self-govern. This leaves these adolescents with inadequate ego functions and self-regulatory skills in later adolescence when they are expected to exhibit these characteristics. Second, the lack of support or closeness felt by the adolescent and their decreased ability to confidently engage in identity exploration during this stage leads to less psychosocial maturity and competence. The lack of autonomy granting, an associated feature of authoritarian parenting, is associated with more internalizing and externalizing behavior cross-sectionally and with decreased self-concept over time based on self-report data in a racially mixed (60% African-American, 40% Caucasian) sample of 99 adolescents (Holmbeck & O'Donnell, 1991).

Authoritative parenting is defined as placing high maturity demands on adolescent children while at the same time being responsive to their needs (Baumrind, 1989). These parents expect their offspring to be responsible to parental expectations, like authoritarian parents, but they accept a "reciprocal responsibility to be responsive to their child's reasonable demands and perspective" (Maccoby & Martin, 1983, p. 46). Authoritative parents are more confident in their parental role; and these mothers are more agentic. Their homes are organized and marked by little stress (Baumrind, 1991a). Authoritative families are more likely to have involved fathers, and parents are likely to work together more effectively (Coombs & Landsverk, 1988). Although firm and consistent in their discipline, authoritative parents are not punitive, sharing the reasoning behind their limit setting. The result is an organized and controlled family environment in which the child is free to learn and explore within the limits set by the parents (Baumrind, 1978a).

Authoritative parenting is associated with a wide range of indicators of healthy adaptation by adolescents. Greater psychosocial maturity was associated with authoritative child-rearing in a racially, socioeconomically, and geographically diverse sample of more than 4000 adolescents (Greenberger, 1984). Authoritative parenting predicted self-reported self-esteem in late adolescents (Buri 1988; Buri et al., 1992). Positive identity exploration (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985), ego

development (Hauser et al., 1984; Powers et al., 1983) and better academic performance have also been associated with authoritative parenting in Caucasian (Baumrind, 1991a) and racially and socioeconomically diverse samples of adolescent students (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg, et al., 1989; Steinberg, et al., 1992a). Adolescents with authoritative parents were judged to be more instrumentally competent (Baumrind, 1991a, 1991b; Lamborn et al., 1991), report less depression and anxiety (Steinberg et al., 1991), and are more likely to be involved in well-rounded, achievement-oriented peer groups (Brown, et al., 1993; Durbin, Lamborn, Steinberg, & Brown, 1993). They are also less likely to engage in delinquent behavior (Baumrind & Moselle, 1985; Steinberg, et al., 1991). This level of competency also appears to be stable during high school years (Steinberg et al., 1994).

The positive impact of authoritative parenting is consistent across different conceptualizations and operationalizations of authoritativeness for Caucasian adolescents (Steinberg et al., 1992a). Although authoritative parenting is effective across ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic niches for certain outcomes (Steinberg et al., 1991; Steinberg, Dornbusch & Brown, 1992b) it is increasingly recognized that the power and effectiveness of authoritative parenting is more consistent for Caucasian adolescents than for minority adolescents.

For example, interview data indicates that there may be

different protective factors buffering African-American adolescents from alcohol use compared to their Caucasian counterparts in a diverse sample of nearly 700 (Barnes, Farrell, & Banerjee, 1994). Barnes et al. (1994) report that religious involvement may protect African-American adolescents from heavy drinking and they may be less influenced by negative peer pressure compared to their Caucasian counterparts. Asian-American adolescents report better school performance with authoritarian parenting style (Chao, 1994). These findings and others (Baumrind, 1972) indicate that this is an area in need of further investigation (Hill, 1987; Steinberg et al., 1992b). Although the Contextual Model of parenting style was developed in part to investigate socio-cultural differences in adolescent outcomes associated with authoritative parenting style, the present sample consists primarily of Caucasian students, limiting the generalizability of the study.

To summarize, parental strictness and closeness have been associated with differences in the development of adolescent children. Both dimensions of parenting style, parental strictness and closeness, appear to encourage stronger development in particular areas and are therefore associated with different outcomes among adolescents. However, neglectful parenting (low parental strictness and closeness) has been consistently associated with the poorest outcomes (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1994). In contrast, highly strict

and close child-rearing (authoritative parenting) has been associated with particularly positive outcomes among adolescents across varied outcomes (e.g. Steinberg, et al., 1994).

The Influence of Age and Gender

Although research on parenting style rarely concentrates on adolescent's age and gender as important factors, it is important to consider the possibility that they may be influential variables on their own or may interact with other variables of interest in the present study. Specifically, as an adolescent matures, parental control typically decreases. There is a normal trend toward less restrictiveness and rules setting by parents (Smetana, 1988).

The quality of the parent-adolescent relationship may also be affected by age. Early adolescence is recognized as a phase marked by increases in parent-adolescent conflict (Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991). Additionally, recent research using the same sample of ESM data as this study found a progressive decline in the amount of time adolescents spend with their parents and families as they mature (Larson et al., 1995). Despite this change, Larson et al. (1995) note that changes in the activities parents and adolescents engage in when together suggests continued engagement, despite fewer interactions.

Although no consistent role has been found between gender and adolescent socialization, there are studies which suggest

it should be considered. Baumrind (1972), found that gender and ethnicity interact in her study of childhood socialization. In this study (Baumrind, 1972) authoritarian parenting style had a negative impact on European-American girls but not for African-American girls. African-American girls with authoritarian parents were more assertive, whereas Caucasian girls were more fearful and timid. Baumrind (1972) suggests that the positive effect of authoritarian parents is the result of intensified need for African-American mothers to prepare their daughters to be independent.

A considerable literature on the differences in socialization for boys and girls exists (Block, Block, & Morrison, 1981). For example, recent findings indicate that parents become more restrictive of daughters after menarche but there appears to be no similar age at which parents increase levels of restrictiveness for boys (Holmbeck & Hill, 1991). Of particular relevance to the present study, Foxcroft and Lowe (1995) recently reported that the dimensions of parenting style (support and control) interacted to predict heavy alcohol use for both genders, but the nature of the interaction was different for each gender. Taken together the literature on gender differences in socialization suggests that there may be differences in the manner in which parents socialize boys and girls, and further, there may be differences in the impact of particular parenting styles based on the gender of the adolescent being socialized. The

relationship of both variables, age and gender, will be investigated to assess their relationship with other variables in the present study.

Theories of Socialization

The findings presented earlier, indicating that authoritative parenting encourages positive adolescent development, most prominently in Caucasian adolescents, are open to a wide range of interpretations (e.g., Baumrind, 1983; Lewis, 1981). It should be noted that there are likely a number of overlapping reasons that strict parenting--when combined with a close and supportive parent-adolescent relationship--has such a positive impact on the lives of adolescents. What is most noteworthy, however, is that for more than 40 years those investigating parenting style have consistently chosen remarkably similar variables to study despite theoretical differences in the interpretation of their results (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Maccoby and Martin's (1983) influential parenting style paradigm focuses on social learning theory to explain the effectiveness of authoritative parenting style. Demandingness is viewed as the frequency and type of demand placed on the child or adolescent and responsiveness as the contingency of parental reinforcement.

Baumrind's (1991a, 1991b) work is informed by both social learning and ethological perspectives (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). She generally agrees with Maccoby and Martin's (1983) social learning perspective of the dimensions of parenting

style. However, her work also focuses on the embeddedness of parental behaviors based on the specific cultural context in which they occur. That is, she focuses on the meaning of child-rearing practices in light of cultural norms and expectations (e.g., Baumrind, 1991b). Baumrind believes that the role of parental behaviors and their meaning for children and adolescents can only be understood in the socio-cultural context in which they occur.

The Contextual Model of parenting style proposed by Darling and Steinberg (1993) represents an attempt to integrate research and theory from the psychoanalytic and social learning perspectives, which have historically been separate. Rather than viewing the dimensions of parenting style as equal aspects in a learning model, as suggested by the Maccoby and Martin (1983) model, Darling and Steinberg (1993) argue that these dimensions represent qualitatively different processes which interact in a dynamic fashion.

Specifically, Darling and Steinberg (1993) suggest that the demandingness dimension, which they rename "parenting practice," represents parents' specific attempts to socialize their children. The responsiveness dimension, referred to as "parenting style," is described as the attitude and emotional climate of the parent-adolescent relationship. These authors note that this dimension historically derived from psychoanalytic theory and research which focused on parental attitudes and the quality of the parent-child relationship.

They argue that this dimension is qualitatively different because it is not goal directed. Rather, it is the relational context which underlies parents attempt to teach their children specific instrumental rules and behaviors through their parenting practices. They further believe that a positive parent-adolescent relationship (optimal "parenting style" in Darling and Steinberg's terms) moderates the impact of parenting practices (the strictness dimension) "by changing the child's openness to socialization" (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 488)(See Figure 2).

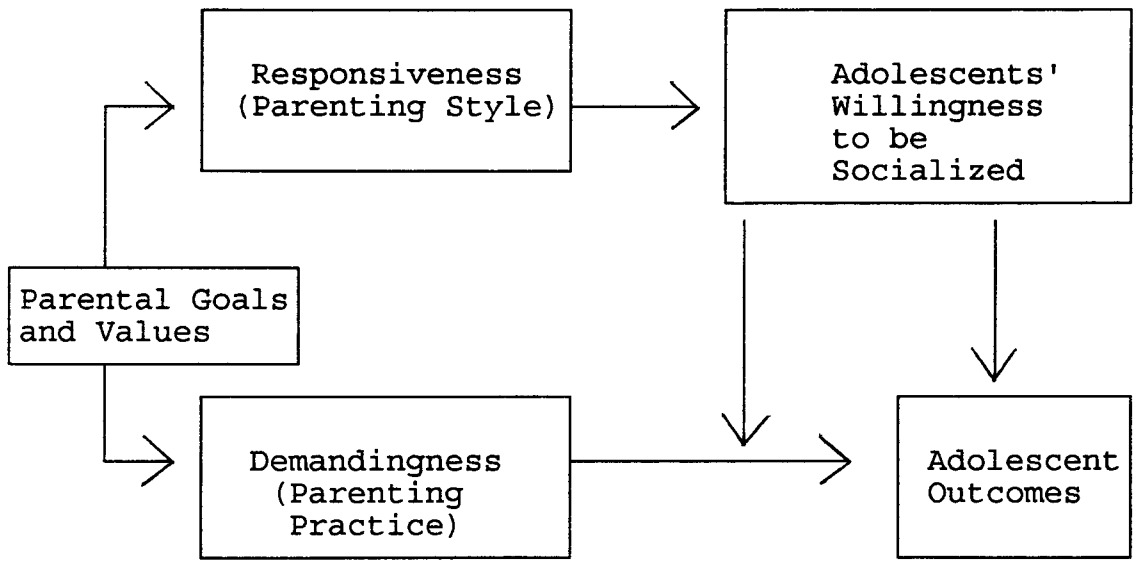

Figure 2. Contextual Model of Parenting Style. Adapted from Darling & Steinberg (1993).

The Contextual Model is also an attempt to explain racial/ethnic differences in the response to similar parenting styles (Darling & Steinberg, 1993. Specifically,

authoritative parenting appears to be most effective for middle-class Caucasian adolescents but less effective for African-American adolescents in studies utilizing self-report survey data from very large ethnically, racially, and socioeconomically diverse samples of high school students (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994).

Building on the comments of Baumrind (1991a,1991b), Darling and Steinberg (1993) suggest that different culturally based norms and expectations, arising out of different traditions or socio-economic necessities may explain differences in the way Caucasian, African-American, Asian-American, and Hispanic-Americans respond to parental strictness. For example, African-American children may experience a greater degree of parental strictness as a source of healthy concern on the part of parents because of cultural group norms (Baumrind, 1972), whereas a Caucasian adolescent may experience a similar parental behavior negatively. The Contextual Model suggests that the adolescents' experience of parents plays a large role in their response to parental socialization. The present study represents an attempt to investigate the experience of parenting style in a relatively homogenous, white, middle-class, sample of adolescents.

To date little research exists which tests the Contextual Model of parenting style (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). However, the findings of Steinberg et al.'s (1992a)

longitudinal study investigating the effect of authoritative parenting on school performance provides support for this model. These researchers found that the effectiveness of parent's participation in their child's school achievement was moderated by authoritative parenting. That is, the beneficial effect of parental involvement in schooling occurred only for students with authoritative parents.

In addition, a recent report on parenting style and adolescent alcohol use provides further support for the Contextual Model. In a meta-analytic investigation of parenting and adolescent alcohol use, Foxcroft and Lowe (1991) found both low parental warmth/support and low parental strictness are associated with heavy alcohol use (Foxcroft & Lowe, 1991). However, when these investigators studied the dimensions of parenting style (strictness/ control and warmth/support) simultaneously with a sample of British youth, they found high drinking rates among girls with authoritarian (high control, low warmth) parents (Foxcroft & Lowe, 1995). As might be predicted by the Contextual Model of parenting style, strict parenting is associated with less heavy alcohol use in adolescence only for those teenage children with a close/supportive relationship with their parents. Baumrind (1991a) and Steinberg et al. (1994) report the lowest drinking among adolescents whose parent(s) are both very warm and highly strict.

Parental Drinking

There are two reasons to include parental drinking in an analysis of parenting style, the quality of the parent-child relationship, and adolescent alcohol use. The first is that parental drinking, especially problematic parental drinking, is related to adolescent drinking (Kandel, 1978). The second reason is that parental drinking is associated with differences within the family functioning and family process. Each issue will be discussed independently.

The relationship between parental alcoholism and problem drinking in their offspring suggest to some authors that there is a genetic predisposition to alcoholism which runs in families (Kandel, 1980). Although the nature-nurture debate over genetic versus environmental causes of problem drinking is far from resolved, it is clear that while not destined to have problems with drinking (Clair & Genest, 1987), children of alcoholics (COAs) appear to be at increased risk for problems with alcohol (Byram & Fly, 1984; Perkins & Berkowitz, 1991), and other areas of functioning (West & Prinz, 1987). As a result, recent studies suggest that future research should include variables which moderate the negative impact of parental alcohol abuse, such as "the quality of parenting" (Seilhamer, Jacob & Dunn, 1993).

However, research investigating the relationship between parental drinking and adolescent drinking has focused almost entirely on the influence of parental alcoholism (e.g., Moos

& Billings, 1982). Few, if any studies assess the effect of non-problematic parental drinking. Therefore, understanding the effect of parental modeling of alcohol use on adolescent drinking is generally confounded by variables such as personal and family dysfunction generally associated with parental alcoholism.

Because parental drinking, when problematic, is associated with personal (Wilcox, 1985) and family dysfunction (Murray, 1989), it is important to assess its relationship with parenting style variables and with the quality of parent-child relationships. Parental drinking is associated with less family cohesion and more family conflict, as measured by the Family Environment Scale (Filstead, McElfresh, & Anderson, 1981; Moos & Moos, 1984).

Masini (1996) investigated the moderating influence of closeness to mother and time spent with mother on the relationship between paternal alcoholism and adolescent self-esteem utilizing the same sample as the present study. His results provide only partial support for the moderating influence of the parent-mother relationship. Specifically, he found that high friendliness of mother, as measured by the ESM, is associated with higher self-esteem regardless of the level of paternal alcohol abuse for boys. As friendliness of mother decreases, so does boys' self-esteem. Despite the limited findings, Masini's study (1996) provides the only known ecologically valid study investigating family process

associated with parental alcohol use.

Experience Sampling Method Data

Previous research investigating adolescence and parenting style has focused almost exclusively on investigation of what teens raised by parents using a particular child-rearing style do (measures of academic success, avoidance of substance use) or what qualities they possess (self-esteem, psychosocial maturity). The method most commonly used for investigating adolescent outcomes is the paper-and-pencil questionnaire. In contrast, Baumrind (1972, 1991a) almost exclusively uses observational data to assess her independent variable (parenting style) and both observation and interviews to assess her dependent variables (instrumental competency and adolescent substance). Despite her distinct method of data collection, Baumrind (e.g., 1991), like other researchers, focuses on measurement of adolescent characteristics.

An underlying assumption of the present study, based on previous research using the Experience Sampling Method (Larson & Richards, 1989; Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck & Duckett, 1995) is that socialization is profoundly affected by the amount of time, and the experience of the time, spent in particular socialization contexts. Denzin (1977) argues that it is the experiences and interactive relationships that are at the heart of the socialization process. Larson and Richards (1989) concur, arguing that "the socialization of children and adolescents is shaped by how they spend their time" (p. 501).

These same authors recently examined the quality of parent-adolescent relationship by examining adolescents' subjective experience in interactions with parents and family (Larson et al., 1995).

In summary, the present study is an attempt to widen the investigation of adolescent socialization by measuring the context of parent-adolescent relationships. Specifically, the relational context can be viewed as the amount of time spent with parents and family and the daily *subjective experience* of this time. The Experience Sampling Method yields information about the actual experience of different social contexts while the participant experiences it, minimizing retrospective bias.

This study also draws on the previous analyses by Crowe et al. (1995). To date, these results represent the only known research between adolescent alcohol use and measures of the subjective experience of time in various social contexts. Consistent with their hypotheses, Crowe et al. (1995) found heavier adolescent drinkers spent far less time with their family and far more time with friends. Heavy drinkers reported feeling more negatively when with parents compared to their peers who drink less, across selected measures of subjective experience. However, contradicting expectations, heavier drinkers did not experience time with peers more positively than those who drank less.

Variables for the present study were chosen to assess the specific areas of interest. Specifically, they examine the

student's subjective experience (affect, arousal, sense of social isolation, level of investment in activity), and the quality of the interaction (feelings of acceptance, frustration, friendliness, seriousness of the interaction, desire to be with parents or family members). These variables have been used in related studies noted earlier (Crowe et al., 1995; Larson et al., 1995).

It is expected that the parenting style construct will provide insights into the findings of Crowe et al. (1995). Specifically, adolescents whose parents are neither strict nor warm (those from more neglectful homes) are expected to be more likely to report heavy drinking and be far more likely to report a negative experience of time with parents. Adolescents whose parents are warm but lax in their disciplinary practice (indulgent), and those with strict parents who lack warmth/supportiveness (authoritarian) are expected to report moderate to high levels of alcohol use. Those with warm yet strict parents are expected to drink the least amount of alcohol.

Support of the Contextual Model would have broad implications in clinical and psycho-educational efforts. Family therapy with adolescents would benefit from the use of powerful yet uncomplicated concepts such as parental strictness and closeness, whether the primary issue causing the family to seek treatment was adolescent drinking or not. Additionally, use of these constructs might strengthen support

for psycho-educational and preventative efforts such as Systematic Training for Effective Parenting (STEP, Dinkmeyer & McKay, 1976).

It is unclear how the strictness and warmth dimensions affect adolescent drinking. The Contextual Model of parenting style and recent findings by Foxcroft and Lowe (1995) indicate that the warmth and strictness dimensions interact. Foxcroft and Lowe (1995) found that parental support moderated the effect of the strictness dimension, increasing its influence in buffering adolescents from heavy alcohol use for girls (the interaction was different for boys). Others found heavy adolescent alcohol use among adolescents with authoritarian parents (Konopka, 1983; Wilcox, 1985) supporting the notion that strict and warm/supportive parents have adolescents who drink less, rather than parental strictness alone being associated with less drinking among teenage children.

However, findings from other studies (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1994) suggest that the dimensions of parenting style do not interact in their relationship to adolescent alcohol use. Rather, Steinberg et al. (1994) findings suggest an additive effect with each dimension strengthening the effect of the other. The present study will investigate the relationship between parenting style and both normative and heavy/ problematic adolescent alcohol use.

The experience of time with parents is also expected to moderate the relationship between parental control/strictness

and adolescent alcohol use. That is, parental strictness is expected to be associated with less alcohol use for students who experience time with their parents more positively.

Hypotheses:

Based on this review of the literature, the following hypotheses are proposed:

(1a) Greater parental strictness and more closeness/ warmth in the parent-adolescent relationship will each be associated with less self-reported use of alcohol by adolescents. In addition, parental closeness/warmth is expected to moderate the relationship between parental strictness and adolescent alcohol use. Specifically, adolescents whose parents are both highly close/warm and highly strict are expected to use the least amount of alcohol. Those whose parents fall into the authoritarian (high strictness and low warmth) and indulgent (low strictness and high warmth) parenting styles will report drinking moderately to heavily, and those whose parents are neither warm nor strict will report using the most alcohol. In all analyses, age and gender effects will also be investigated to investigate possible interactions with independent and moderator variables. The dimensions of parenting style, warmth and strictness, will be used as continuous variables, rather than split into categories as in other studies (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1994). The use of categorical names (authoritarian and indulgent) is for illustrative purposes

only.

(1b) Authoritative parenting is expected to buffer adolescents from heavy/problematic alcohol use. Adolescents with authoritative parents are expected to be less likely than those with indulgent, neglectful, and authoritarian parents to fall into the heavy/problem alcohol use group.

(2) Greater parental strictness will be related to more time spent with parents. More warmth/closeness in the parent adolescent relationship is expected to be associated with more positive experience of time with parents. Adolescents whose parents are both highly strict and highly warm/close are hypothesized to experience their time with parents most positively. Those whose parents are neither warm/close nor strict are expected to report the most negative subjective experience of time with parents.

(3) The amount of time spent with parents and the positive experience of that time is expected to moderate the relationship between greater parental strictness and adolescents' self-reported alcohol use in the same manner as the questionnaire-based warmth dimension. Adolescents whose parents are both warm and strict are expected to use far less alcohol than their peers (Results are expected to mirror those from hypothesis 1b).

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Sample

The sample for this study was drawn from a larger longitudinal sample of 334 adolescents (Larson & Richards, 1989). The purpose of the original study was to investigate mood fluctuations in early adolescence. The present study utilized data from time three (T3) of the larger study, totalling 220 participants from two suburban Chicago communities. T3 data was chosen because it was the only data from the longitudinal study in which the survey measures of parenting style were included. One of these communities was working class (Community A), and the other was primarily middle class (Community B). The sample was predominantly Caucasian. During one week of each academic semester, data were collected at the high schools in these two communities.

The original sample selection was stratified to balance gender, grade, and community in the sample. All data have been numerically coded to protect the confidentiality of participants. There are slight differences between the sample at time one (T1) and T3. Larson et al. (1995) report that boys were less likely to participate at T3 (final sample included 97 boys and 123 girls) as were those scoring higher

on a depression inventory.

Procedure

At T3 the research program involved a multi-method approach to data collection including the ESM (Larson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1983), an interview, a questionnaire for parents, and several questionnaires for the adolescents to complete. This study makes use of data provided by the ESM and three questionnaires completed by the adolescents.

The ESM utilizes pagers, similar to those carried by physicians, to collect accurate data regarding individuals' daily experience. Subjects are asked to fill out one page in a booklet of identical forms each time they receive a signal. Because participants are asked to complete the sheet as soon after receiving a signal as possible, these data provide an indication of their activities, thoughts, and affective states, with minimum retrospective bias. Due to the randomness of the signals, the picture of daily activities provided by this method is assumed to be representative of the daily activities of the adolescents in the study.

The longitudinal data for the larger research project were collected approximately four years after the original data collection. For a thorough description of the procedure and methodology of the original study, see Larson (1989). All T1 participants originally involved in the study during the academic year available at T3 were invited to participate. Most of the students who completed the T1 study during the

summer were excluded. The invitation meetings were carried out in small groups by one or two staff members of the research team. At this meeting students were asked to participate. They received a letter with a brief description of the present study and consent form for their parents to sign.

Data collection began with training sessions during which the ESM was described. Participants were trained in small groups to carry the pagers and booklet of self report forms by members of the research staff. At this meeting students were informed that they would receive seven to eight signals daily, one at a random time in every two hour block of time between 7:30 a.m. and 10:30 p.m. on school nights and 8:00 a.m. and 12:00 a.m. on weekends. Confidentiality of the data was stressed at this meeting and stickers were provided to "tape" shut completed pages, ensuring further privacy of the self report forms. At the end of the training session participants completed a sample self report form. Staff members reviewed these forms to confirm that the adolescents understood how to complete it correctly.

At the end of the week of paging, questionnaires were administered to groups of students. The battery of questionnaires required approximately 75 minutes to complete. Among these measures was one assessing alcohol use, one evaluating closeness/intimacy to each parent, and another measuring parental strictness/control. The confidentiality of

questionnaire data was stressed at this administration.

Measures

The Experience Sampling Method

Reliability and validity of the ESM has been reported previously (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1987; Larson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1983). Validity of the method appears adequate; the frequency of activities measured by this method is strongly correlated with those from time budget studies using diaries (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1987). In the original study (T1), Larson (1989) found that the stability of these variables over the first and second half of a week were highly correlated, supporting the reliability of the method. Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1987) also report that strength of the consistency over a two year period for high school students who were retested provides support for the reliability of this method's measurements over longer periods.

Construct validity of the ESM was investigated for the original sample by correlating average ESM ratings with other person variables (Larson, 1989). Average affect was correlated with Kovac's Children's Depression Inventory scores (r = -.34, p< .001), with self esteem (r = .21, p< .001) and teacher's ratings of students' moods (r= .28, p< .001).

Subjective Experience Variables

All subjective experience variables were measured by participants' responses to questions on the ESM self report form when with parents. Subjective experience variables were

z-scored to normalize scores within subjects. It is necessary to normalize subjects' scores due to the influence of within subject response trends. Normalizing scores controls for differences in response trends between individuals. When z-scored, a value of 0.0 corresponds to each participant's mean, and values above or below zero denotes subjective states that are above and below the individual's mean (Larson & Richards, 1989). The aim in this paper was to assess the context of the parent-child relationship without the possible confound of individual response tendencies.

Subjective experience variables were measured via students' responses to a series of questions utilizing different metrics. Questions measuring: "accepted", "frustrated", and "in control" were assessed on a four point unipolar scale asking how well the word presented described their present feelings (e.g., 1 = a lot, 2 = a bit, 3 = does not or 4 = definitely does not).

A seven-point bipolar scale was used to measure the degree to which respondents' companions were experienced as "friendly" to "unfriendly", and "serious" to "joking", with these subjective experience terms as poles.

The item which measured companionship preference asked respondents to indicate if they would rather have been alone, with family, or with friends, as opposed to the companion they were with at the time they were signaled.

Affect was measured as an aggregate of the means of the

following 7-point bipolar questions (alpha = .93): happy to unhappy, irritable to cheerful, friendly to angry. Arousal was similarly measured by determining the aggregate of the following two items (r = .42): strong to weak and excited to bored. Reported correlations from T1 indicate correlations of affect over the first and second half of the week ranged between .66 to .71 (p < .001) for early adolescents. Correlations for items measuring arousal ranged from .66 to .73 (p < .001) (Larson, 1989).

Two four-point unipolar items assess how lonely and ignored adolescents felt when paged in the presence of parents and family. Attention and Choice in activity are assessed by two ten-point semantic differential scales with possible answers ranging from "not at all" to "very much" in response to the questions "How well were you paying attention?" and "How much choice did you have in this activity?"

Companionship Variables

Companionship was measured by response to the question "Who were you with?" included on each ESM self report forms. Fifteen non-exclusive choices could be checked which were then coded into superordinate categories (inter-rater agreement = 93%). Validity of companionship categories has been demonstrated with teacher and parent ratings (Larson, 1989). The checklist format invited students to mark all appropriate items indicating who they were with when signaled. For example, if a student was with his or her father and one

friend at the time of a signal, both of these categories would be marked. For purposes of the present study, only data obtained when the signal was received in the presence of parents were utilized.

Survey Data

Adolescent Alcohol Use

Level of adolescent alcohol use was determined by paper and pencil questionnaires modified from Jessor, Chase, and Donovan (1980) in their national study of adolescent alcohol and drug use. The adolescent's level of alcohol use and problems associated with drinking were evaluated by responses to the 11 items of this questionnaire. Due to questions using different metrics, all items were normalized via z-score and averaged to compute the index of alcohol use (alpha = .95). Questions included: frequency and amount of use, most recent use, greatest amount drank and problem related to drinking including problems with family, police and incidents of driving while intoxicated. Higher scores on this measure indicate heavier alcohol use. The heavy/problematic alcohol use category will be determined by dividing the sample into the bottom 80% of non-problem drinkers and the 20% heavy problem drinkers. See Table 6 in Appendix B for comparison of problem and non-problem drinking categories. Previous use of this measure (Crowe et al., 1995) indicates that consumption of alcohol by students in the present sample is approximately equivalent to reports from national samples. (A copy of the

Alcohol Use questionnaire is presented in Appendix B)

Parental Drinking

The frequency and quantity of parental alcohol use was determined by two questions on the alcohol use questionnaire. These items separately assess the average number of drinks consumed by each parent per night. Response alternatives range from "Does not drink" to "12 or more."

Strictness/Firm Control

The measure of parental strictness/control is based on a questionnaire assessing how participants and parent(s) arrive at decisions about a variety of issues commonly faced by high school students. The 17-item questionnaire asks whether the parent(s) alone, adolescent alone, or parent(s) and the adolescent jointly make decisions about issues common to high school students. Responses indicating that the adolescent alone makes decision are scored as a one, joint decisions are scored two, and parent alone decisions are scored a three. This scoring system was used by Holmbeck and O'Donnell (1991). Items on this measure are summed, therefore, higher scores indicate greater parental control. Items included how adolescents spend their time with friends, school work, and questions about who decides issues like clothing and curfew. Steinberg and colleagues (Brown et al., 1993; Steinberg et al., 1989, 1991, 1992) created this tool in their investigation of parenting style and adolescent socialization. Inter-item correlation analysis (alpha = .82) indicates that

items on this measure adequately assesses the same construct. (A copy of the Decision Making Questionnaire is presented in Appendix C)

Parental Closeness/Support

The measure of closeness was assessed using Blythe's (1982) measure of closeness/intimacy. This instrument assesses adolescents' perceptions of emotional closeness, acceptance, and support in their relationship with each parent. Analysis of inter-item correlation (alpha) at T1 found alphas between .83 and .88. Examples of questions include "Do you go to your mother for advice about your relationships with friends?" and "Is your mother important to you?" Responses to the 10-item questionnaire are based on a 5-point scale with response options ranging from "not at all" to "very much." Higher scores represent a closer and more supportive relationship on each item. Scores are summed with higher overall score representing closer, more supportive relationship. For two parent families, mother and father scores are averaged to arrive at a closeness to parents score. For children in single parent homes, the score for the custodial parent is used individually. The dimensions of closeness evaluated by this questionnaire are very similar to those used in the Steinberg et al. (1989, 1991, 1992) research program. (A copy of the Closeness/Support Questionnaire is presented in Appendix D)

Parenting Style Categories

Analyses using parenting style categories will be

determined using a median split of the strictness and closeness/warmth dimensions into "high" and "low" and pairing both levels of strictness with both levels of warmth resulting in four parenting style categories (See Figure 1). This is the method used by Steinberg et al. (1991) and Durbin et al. (1993). Authoritative families score above the median on both parental closeness and firm control questionnaires. Authoritarian families score above the median on parental control and below the median on the parental closeness/support questionnaire. Indulgent families score above the median on parental closeness/support, but below the median on firm control. Unengaged families score below the median on both dimensions of parenting style.

Plan of Analyses

The first objective of the present study was to assess the reliability of the paper and pencil measures (alcohol use, closeness, and strictness) via inter-item correlation analyses (Cronbach alpha).

The next goal was to assess whether strictness and closeness dimensions are orthogonal using correlational analyses. This determined possible colinearity.

The third purpose was to assess the relationship of closeness and strictness to time spent with parents and family, and subjective experience variables using multiple regressions. The analysis included gender on step one, grade on step two, parental drinking variables on step three to assess the relationship between these variables and the dependent variable (time with parents and family, and subjective experience variables) and to investigate possible interactions. Parental strictness was entered on step two and parental warmth/closeness was included on step three. The interaction term strictness x closeness/warmth was assessed on step four. Additional interactions were assessed as necessary after step four.

The fourth objective was to assess the relationship of closeness and strictness to adolescent alcohol using multiple regressions. These analyses included age and gender on step one to assess the relationship between these variables and the dependent variable (alcohol use) and to investigate possible interactions. Parental strictness was entered on step two and

parental warmth/closeness will be included on step three. The interaction term strictness x closeness/warmth was assessed on step four. Additional interactions were assessed as necessary after step four.

The fifth goal was to assess the relationship between categories of parenting style and heavy/problematic alcohol use. An ANOVA analysis determined the percentage of adolescents reporting heavy/problematic alcohol use for each parenting style category.

The final goal was to assess the relationship of parental strictness and ESM time with and subjective experience variables to adolescent alcohol use using multiple regressions. The analysis was included age and gender on step one to assess the relationship between these variables and the dependent variable (alcohol use) and to investigate possible interactions. Parental strictness was entered on step two and time with parents/family and subjective experience variables (ESM variables) was included on step three. The interaction term strictness multiplied by the ESM variables were assessed on step four. Additional interactions were assessed as necessary after step four.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

The present study utilized two independent variables, (1) parental strictness and (2) closeness to parents, to assess the relationship between parenting style and adolescent alcohol use (See Figure 3., relationship A). The independent variables were also used to assess the relationship between parenting style and adolescents' daily subjective experience with parents (ESM Data) (See Figure 3., relationship B). Finally, the quality of time with parents was expected to moderate the relationship between parental strictness and adolescent alcohol use (See Figure 3., relationship C).

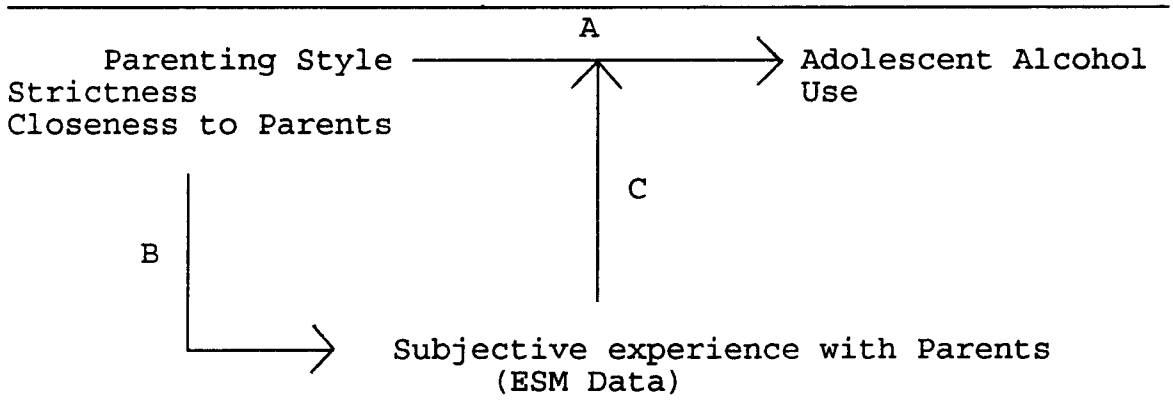

Figure 3. Proposed Relationship Between Dimensions of Parenting Style, Adolescent Alcohol Use, and the Subjective Experience of Time with Parents.

Descriptive Statistics

Independent Variables

The independent variables (parental strictness and closeness to parents) were not correlated with each other for the entire sample (r = .08, p = .23) (See Table 1), for boys (r = .09, p = .37) or girls (r = .07, p = .44). Additionally, strictness was not correlated with either closeness to mother or father (See Table 1).

As expected, strictness was correlated with grade in school (r = -.15, p < .05). Parents of older adolescents were less strict (that is, allowed greater decision-making autonomy) with their older children than parents of younger students. Analysis of Variance revealed no difference in the degree of strictness experienced by girls versus boys. Strictness was uncorrelated with mother's drinking (r = .10, p = .14) but was correlated with father's drinking (r = .19, p < .01). Adolescents' with heavier drinking fathers reported less parental strictness (See Table 1).

Closeness to parents was assessed by averaging the closeness with mother and closeness with father scores. Consistent with previous reports (e.g., Baumrind, 1991a; Steinberg et al., 1994), adolescents' ratings of closeness to parents in this sample were correlated (r = .28, p < .001). Adolescents felt closer to their mothers (t = 5.29, p < .001) than to their fathers. Although boys and girls reported feeling equally close to their fathers, girls felt closer to

mothers (F = 9.58, p < .01) (See Table 2). Adolescents' closeness to parents was unrelated to the students' year in high school.

Control Variables

Four variables (gender, grade, mother's drinking, and father's drinking) were used to control for their possible influence on the independent, dependent, and moderator variables and to allow me to probe possible interactions. Table 1 presents the control, independent, and dependent variables (except gender). Table 2 presents gender differences on selected variables.

Table 1.
Correlation matrix of control variables, independent variables, and dependent variables.

	Grade	Mom Drink	Dad Drink	Strictness	Close to Parents	Adolescent Drinking
Grade	r=	-.08	.04	-.15	.04	.34
	n=	(225)	(219)	(230)	(230)	(219)
	p=	.23	.54	.03	.56	.001
Mom Drink			.46	.10	-.12	.10
			(219)	(224)	(219)	(218)
			.001	.14	.08	.12
Dad Drink				.19	-.16	.12
				(218)	(217)	(213)
				.01	.02	.07
Strictness					.08	.09
					(224)	(218)
					.23	.20
Closeness Parents						-.18
						(213)
						.01

Table 2.
Means, Standard Deviations, n, and gender differences for selected variables.

Gender Difference

		Sample	Boys	Girls	F	p
Mother Itimacy	(Mean)	3.08	2.89	3.24	9.58	.002
	(S.D)	.87	.74	.94		
	(n)	230	106	124		
Father Intimacy		2.70	2.77	2.65	n.s.	
		.82	.77	.87		
		226	106	120		
Parent Intimacy		2.89	2.83	2.94	n.s.	
		.68	.60	.74		
		225	105	120		
Strictness		39.46	39.39	39.51	n.s.	
		5.37	5.97	4.81		
		230	106	124		
Alcohol Use		-.12	.03	-.23	2.99	.09
		.90	.96	.84		
		219	98	121		
Father Drinks		2.74	2.64	2.81	n.s.	
		2.27	2.10	2.42		
		219	101	118		
Mother Drinks		1.87	1.75	1.97	n.s.	
		1.38	1.20	1.51		
		225	102	123		

Dependent Variable

The present study made use of one dependent variable, adolescent drinking. As expected, a strong relationship between adolescents' reported drinking and grade in school (r = .34, p < .001) indicated older students reported greater involvement with alcohol. Boys reported slightly heavier, though not a statistically different level of drinking than girls (F = 2.99, p < .085). Preliminary analyses indicated that the dependent variable, adolescent drinking, was correlated with grade in school but not with mother's or father's drinking. As expected, parental closeness was related to adolescent drinking, with closer relationships being associated with less adolescent drinking. However, contradicting expectations, parental strictness was not related to adolescent drinking (See Table 1).

Because parental strictness was related to adolescents' grade in school, partial correlations between strictness and adolescent drinking were undertaken, controlling for grade in school. No linear relationship between strictness and adolescent drinking was found (r = .04, p = n.s.).

The lack of expected results led to further assessment of the association between parental strictness and adolescent drinking. To investigate the presence of possible curvilinear relationships, a quadratic strictness term was created by squaring each student's score on the strictness and closeness measures. Partial correlations evaluating the relationship

between the quadratic strictness variable, controlling for the linear strictness term and grade, revealed no statistically significant relationship for the entire sample (r = .10, p < n.s.). However, when this same analysis was run separately for boys and girls, opposite curvilinear relationships between strictness and adolescent drinking were revealed. For boys, moderate parental strictness was associated with the least drinking (r = .25, p < .01), while the opposite was true for girls (r = -.17, p < .05). Moderate parental strictness was associated with heavier drinking for girls (See Table 3). The quadratic closeness variable was not related to adolescent drinking for the entire sample (r = -.05, p < n.s.) or for either gender when investigated separately.

Table 3.
Partial correlations by gender controlling for linear strictness and grade.

	Boys Drinking	Girls Drinking
Strictness^2	r= .25	-.17
	n= (93)	(117)
	p <.01	.05

In an attempt to further investigate the relationship between the strictness measure and adolescent drinking, post hoc analyses investigated the linear strictness hypotheses by re-scoring the strictness questionnaire to assess parental laxness. A laxness variable was created by scoring only items on the questionnaire that students reported parents allowed

them full decision making autonomy. However, laxness was highly correlated with the strictness score (r = -.91, p < .001), and preliminary analyses indicated that strictness and laxness were similarly unrelated to adolescent drinking.

Because the quadratic strictness variable was differentially correlated with adolescent drinking for boys and girls when grade was controlled, all future analyses included the quadratic strictness (strictness^2) term. All possible gender and grade interactions were probed.

Relationship A: Parenting Style Variables and Adolescent Drinking

Hierarchical regressions tested the first hypothesis which stated that adolescents with stricter parents and those who felt closer to their parents would report drinking less. Strictness and closeness were expected to interact to predict adolescent drinking. Students who reported strict yet close relationships with their parents were expected to report the least drinking. Initial regressions included gender on step 1, grade on step 2, and mother's drinking and father's drinking together on step 3 as control variables and to assess for possible interactions. Results of these analyses are included in Appendix E, Table 7.

These hypotheses were only partially supported. As noted above, grade in school was significantly related to adolescent drinking (B = .33, FCh = 26.38, p < .001), accounting for 11% of the variance. Older students reported more drinking than

their younger counterparts. Mothers who drank more had adolescents who drank more (B = .14, FCh = 4.51, p < .05). Mothers' drinking accounted for 2% of the variance. Fathers' drinking did not predict adolescent drinking. In partial support of the hypotheses, adolescents who reported closer relationships with their parents drank less (B = -.17, FCh = 6.74, p < .01). Initial regressions that included multiple interaction terms revealed an interaction between gender and the quadratic strictness variable. Although for the final analysis this two-way interaction was not statistically significant when the non-significant interaction terms were removed from the regression equation, probes of the interactions were carried out. These analyses indicated that the relationship between closeness and adolescent drinking was statistically significant only for girls (B = -.24, FCh = 7.86, p < .01), accounting for 6% of the variance in drinking by girls (Table 4). Although the direction of the relationship between these variables was the same for boys, it did not reach statistical significance (B = -.11, FCh = 1.24, n.s.). The appearance and disappearance of findings suggests that these relationships are somewhat unstable (See Appendix E, Table 7). These probes also revealed that the quadratic strictness variable was related to adolescent drinking only for boys (B = 1.73, FCh = 5.55, p < .05). Moderate parental strictness was associated with less adolescent drinking for boys, accounting for 5% of the variance (See Table 4). The

relationship between strictness squared and girls drinking reported above was absent when variables entered earlier in the regression were controlled. The parenting-style variables did not interact in either linear or curvilinear form to predict adolescent drinking (See Appendix E, Table 7).

In summary, the hypothesis that closeness to parents would be associated with less adolescent drinking was supported, though this relationship was much stronger for girls. Contradicting expectations, strictness was not related to alcohol use by adolescents in the sample. However, moderate strictness predicted less drinking for boys but was unrelated to drinking for girls. In addition, strictness and closeness did not interact to predict drinking among students in this sample.

Table 4.
Regressions assessing the relationship between parenting style variables and adolescent drinking for boys and girls.

Boys

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Adolescent Drinking	95			
Step 1				
Grade		.13	14.10***	.36***
Step 2				
Mother Drink		.00	.17	.04*
Step 3				
Intimacy		.01	1.24	-.11
Strictness		.00	.06	-.02
Step 4				
Strictness^2		.05	5.55*	1.73*

Girls

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Adolescent Drinking	116			
Step 1				
Grade		.10	12.37***	.31***
Step 2				
Mother Drink		.05	6.36**	.22**
Step 3				
Intimacy		.06	7.86**	-.24**
Strictness		.02	2.73	.14
Step 4				
Strictness^2		.01	2.15	-1.31

Note. (+= p<.10, *=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

The analyses based on hypothesis 1b investigated the relationship between parental strictness and parental closeness with heavy adolescent drinking to determine whether parenting-style group membership predicts adolescent drinking. A three-way (two by two by two) Analysis of Variance (sex by strictness by closeness) revealed that parenting style groups (Authoritative, Authoritarian, Indulgent, Neglectful) did not predict adolescent drinking (F = .51, p = n.s.). A second

(two by two) two-way ANOVA split adolescent drinking into heavy/problematic and non-problematic drinkers. This analysis revealed that problem drinkers experienced less closeness with parents ($F = 6.79$, $p < .01$). However, they did not experience less strictness ($F = 1.68$, p = n.s.) than non-problem drinkers.

Relationship B: The Daily Experience of Parenting Style Variables

Hierarchical regressions tested the hypotheses that closeness to parents and parental strictness result in differences in the daily experience of time spent with parents, as measured by the Experience Sampling Method. Closeness and strictness were expected to interact so that adolescents with strict parents who have a close relationship experienced time with parents most positively. Initial hierarchical regressions indicated that parental drinking does not predict the quality of time with parents, nor does it interact with any of the independent variables or other control variables, and it was therefore excluded from final analyses.

The Experience Sampling Method (ESM) variables were grouped into (1) Emotional items (affect, arousal), (2) Quality of Interaction items (accepted, friendliness of other(s), loneliness, ignored), and those assessing (3) Time with, and Role in the interaction variables (attention, percentage of time with parents, choice in the activity, wish

to be with parents, and percent of time leader in interactions with parents). Tables presenting regressions assessing the relationship between parenting style and ESM variables are presented in Appendix F, Tables 8-17.

Table 5.
Standardized Beta Weights for Strictness and Closeness Variables "Predicting" Adolescent Experience of Time with Parents.

	Closeness	Strict	Strict²	Sex X Strict	Boys	Girls
Emotional						
Affect				-1.23*	.19+	-.14
Arousal				1.59**	-.17	.19+
Quality of Interaction						
Friendliness of other(s)	.32***					
Accepted	.17*					
Ignored			1.43*			
Lonely				1.41*	-.12	.19+
Time with and Role in the Interaction						
Attention		-1.47*				
In Control				-1.94*	.21	-.27**
Percent Time with parents	.16**					
Choice		.16*	-2.38***			
Wish to be with						
Percent Time Leader						

Note. (+= p<.10, *=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)
Control variables not included on this table.

Emotional Variables

Regression analyses indicated that students' affect when with parents was unrelated to their gender or grade in school. No main effect for either of the independent variables was found, but a sex by strictness interaction was revealed (B = -1.23, FCh = 3.86, p < .05) (See Table 5; Also Appendix F, Table 8). Probe of this interaction indicated that boys' and girls' affective experience of time with parents differs by parental strictness. More strictness for boys was associated with slightly less positive affect with their parents (B = .19, FCh = 2.88, p < .10), accounting for 5% of the variance in boys' affective experience with parents. There was no relationship for girls (B = -.14, FCh = 2.02, p = n.s.). The statistically significant interaction was the result of the boys' and girls' patterns of relationships being opposite in direction, although the relationship between these variables was not significant for either gender (See Table 5; Also Appendix F, Table 8).

Boys experienced higher levels of arousal with parents than girls (B = -.15, FCh = 4.14, p < .05) explaining 2% of the variance in level of arousal with parents (See Table 5; Appendix F, Table 9). No other main effects predicted level of arousal. A sex by strictness interaction indicated that the level of strictness was differentially related to the level of arousal experienced with parents (B = 1.59, FCh = 6.60, p < .01). Girls with less strict parents tended to

experience less arousal with these parents (B = .19, FCh = 3.50, p < .10) accounting for 3% of the variance in girls' level of arousal with parents. However, boys level of arousal with stricter parents was unrelated to parental strictness (B = -.17, FCh = 2.08, n.s.). The statistically significant interaction was the result of boys' and girls' patterns of relationships being opposite in direction, although the relationship between these variables was not significant for either gender (See Table 5; Appendix F, Table 9).

Quality of Interaction

Closeness to parents was associated with feeling more friendliness (B = .32, FCh = 21.13, p < .001) accounting for 10% of the variance in friendliness with parents (See Appendix F, Table 10). More acceptance with parents was also associated with closeness to parents (B=.17, FCh=5.21, p<.05) accounting for 3% of the variance of acceptance with parents (See Appendix F, Table 11). No other main effects or interactions predicted either of these variables.

Younger students reported feeling more ignored with parents compared to their peers in more advanced grades (B = -.15, FCh = 3.86, p < .05) accounting for 2% of the variance in students level of feeling ignored with parents (See Appendix F, Table 12). Students who rated their parents as moderately strict reported feeling the least ignored with their parents (B = 1.43, FCh = 3.63, p < .05) accounting for another 2% of the variance associated with this variable. No

other main effects or interactions for parenting style predicted feeling ignored.

The relationship between parental strictness and feelings of loneliness with parents was complex. No main effects of the independent or control variables predicted feelings of loneliness. Gender interacted with strictness to predict feelings of loneliness with parents (B = 1.41, FCh = 5.00, p < .05) predicting 3% of the variance for the entire sample (See Appendix F, Table 13). Probe of this interaction indicated girls with more strict parents tended to experience more loneliness (B = .19, FCh = 3.67, p < .10). Boys' experience of loneliness was not statistically related to parental strictness but the direction of the association of these variables was the opposite of girls (more strictness associated with less loneliness with parents). The statistically significant interaction was the result of boys' and girls' patterns of relationships being opposite in direction, although the relationship between these variables loneliness and strictness was not significant for either gender.

A three way sex by grade by strictness interaction also predicted (B = 1.55, FCh = 4.09, p < .05) loneliness. Specifically, higher strictness tended to be associated with more loneliness for all students except for 11th and 12th grade boys with strict parents, who tended to experience less loneliness. Although not statistically significant, younger

boys whose parents were the strictest tended to experience the most loneliness. The statistically significant interaction was the result of opposite patterns in the direction of relationships between the variables, although the relationship between these variables was not significant when split and run separately (See Figure 4).

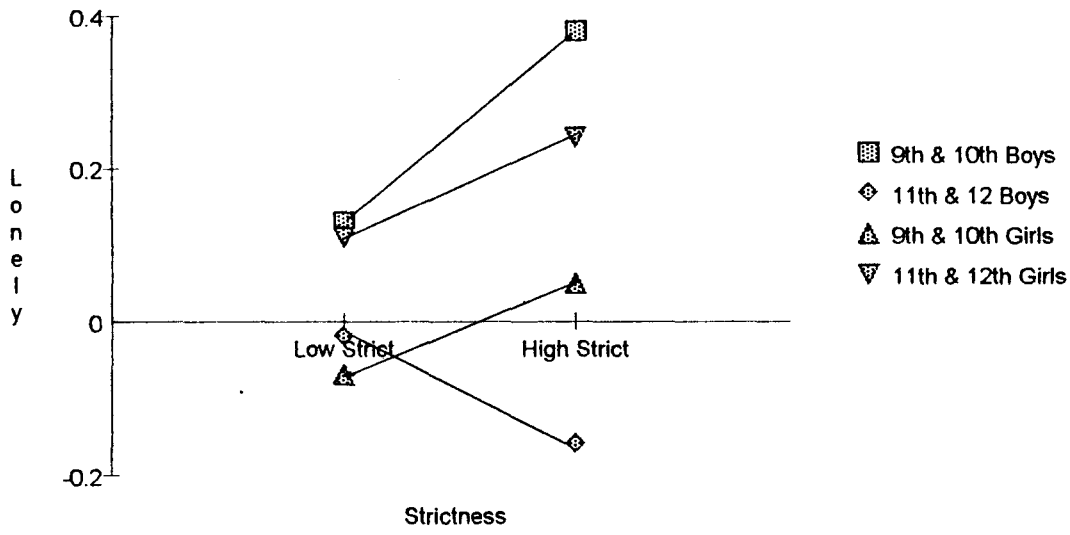

Figure 4. Sex by Grade by Strictness Predicting Loneliness with Parents.

Percentage of Time/Role in the Interaction

Boys reported attending more with their parents compared to girls (B = -.19, FCh = 6.74, p < .01) accounting for 4% of the variance in the level of attention with parents (See Appendix F, Table 14). No main effects or interactions for

any of the linear independent variables predicted attention when with parents. A main effect for the quadratic strictness variable indicated that adolescents with moderately strict parents attended the most to interactions with their parents (B = -1.47, FCh = 4.14, p < .05).

Feeling in control with parents was predicted by a gender by strictness interaction (B = -1.94, FCh = 9.71, p < .01) (See Appendix F, Table 15). Girls reported feeling more in control when parents were less strict (B = -.27, FCh = 7.46, p < .01), predicting 7% of the variance. Boys sense of being in control was unrelated to parental strictness (B = .21, FCh = 3.34, p = n.s.).

The percentage of time spent with parents was related to grade in school (B = -.28, FCh = 18.25, p < .001). Older adolescents spent far less time with their parents. Parental closeness also predicted the percentage of time with parents (B = .16, FCh = 6.35, p < .01). Students who reported a closer relationship with parents spent more time with them, accounting for 3% of the variance. No other main effects or interactions predicted the amount of time spent with parents (See Appendix F, Table 16).

Both linear and quadratic parental strictness variables predicted adolescents' feelings of choice in interactions with parents (See Appendix F, Table 17). The linear strictness variable was related to feelings of choice, with more strictness being related to greater feelings of choice with

parents ($\underline{B}$ = .16, $\underline{FCh}$ = 4.60, $\underline{p}$ < .05) accounting for 2% of the variance. A more powerful relationship between the quadratic strictness and adolescence experience of choice ($\underline{B}$ = -2.38, $\underline{FCh}$ = 10.51, $\underline{p}$ < .001) predicted 6% of the variance, indicating moderate strictness was associated with feeling the most choice in interactions with parents. No other main effects or interactions for adolescents' feelings of choice in interactions with parents were found.

No relationship was found between the independent variables (parental strictness and parental closeness) and the wish to be with parents, or with the percentage of time adolescents felt they are the leader with their parents were found (See Table 5).

In summary, the parenting style variables, expanded to include the quadratic strictness variable, predicted differences in the daily experience of time spent with parents for 10 of 12 ESM variables. However, parental strictness and closeness did not interact to predict any of the ESM variables, as hypothesized.

Specifically, closeness to parents predicted feeling more accepted and more friendliness with parents. Adolescents who reported feeling closer to their parents also spent more time with them.

The quadratic strictness variable predicted adolescents' experience for three ESM variables with parents. Moderate strictness was associated with feeling the most choice, paying

the most attention, and feeling the least ignored with parents.

The linear strictness term also predicted feelings of choice with parents, with more strictness being associated with greater feelings of choice. In addition, parental strictness predicted a different experience of time with parents for boys and girls across 4 of the 12 subjective experience variables. Specifically, boys experienced more positive affect, lower arousal, less loneliness, and greater experience of control with parents compared to girls based on their parents' strictness (See Table 5).

Relationship C: The Moderating Influence of the Daily Experience of Parents on the Relationship Between Parental Strictness and Adolescent Drinking

The third set of hypotheses predicted that the relationship between parental strictness and adolescent drinking would be moderated by the daily experience of parents. That is, parental strictness was expected to be most effective in buffering adolescents from alcohol use when the quality of time with parents was most positive. The ESM variables chosen were those statistically associated with parental closeness in earlier analyses (Friendliness of others, Accepted, and Percentage of Time with parents). Due to previous findings indicating that the quadratic parental strictness variable was related to adolescent drinking, initial analyses included both the linear and quadratic

strictness terms.

None of the two-way interaction between an ESM variable and either linear or quadratic strictness variables predicted adolescent drinking. However, a three-way gender by strictness by acceptance interaction predicted adolescent drinking (B = 3.82, FCh = 4.41, p < .05). Although not a statistically significant difference, the level of acceptance was related to slightly less drinking for boys, particularly when combined with high strictness. Whereas, for girls higher acceptance was associated with a slight, though non-significant increase in girls drinking, especially for girls with parents below average in strictness (See Figure 5; Appendix G, Table 18). The statistically significant interaction was the result of opposite patterns in the direction of relationships between the variables, although the relationship between these variables was not significant when split and run separately (See Figure 5).

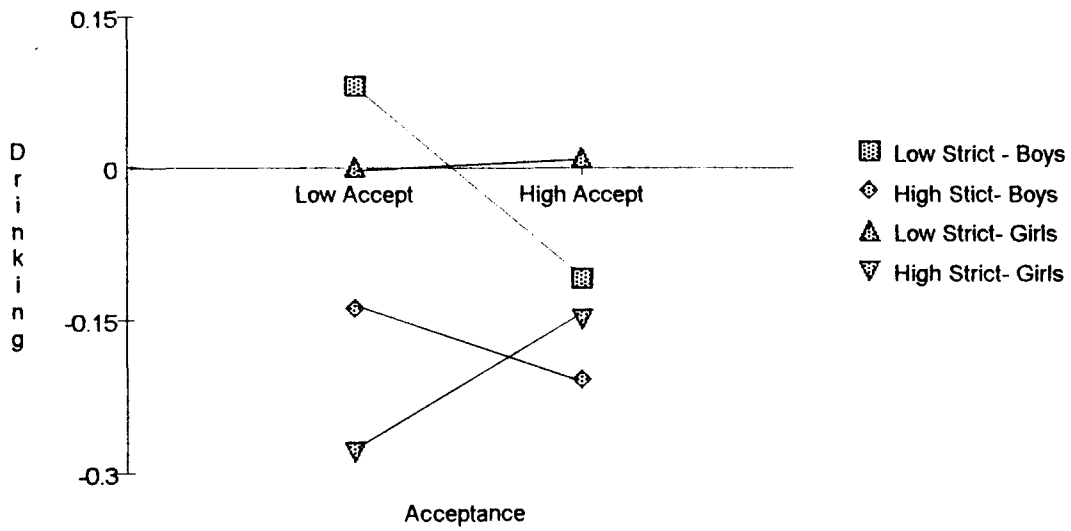

Figure 5. Sex by Acceptance (when with parents) by Strictness Interaction Predicting Adolescent Drinking.

Consistent with previous analyses using the same sample (Crowe et al., 1995), the amount of time spent with parents was negatively associated with adolescent alcohol use. Adolescents who spent more time with their parents drank less (B=.16, R^2Ch=.02, p=.03).

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Based on the Contextual Model, it was hypothesized that the dimensions of parenting style, as measured by the parental strictness and closeness questionnaires, would interact so that adolescents whose parents are strict yet maintain a close relationship with their children would drink the least. It was further hypothesized that the parenting style variables would be associated with a particular experience of adolescents' time with parents. Specifically, higher levels of both parental strictness and closeness were expected to predict the most positive experience of time with parents. Finally, the quantity and quality of time with parents was expected to moderate the anticipated relationship between parental strictness and adolescent drinking. Although these data do not support the hypotheses based on the Contextual Model, this study revealed a number of interesting findings that have implications for future developmental research.

Darling and Steinberg (1993) believe that a close and positive interpersonal relationship between parents and their adolescent children creates a context in which adolescents are more open to parental socialization. The present study utilized two types of measures of the parent-child

relationship, a written survey assessing the closeness or intimacy in the parent-child relationship, and 12 Experience Sampling Method variables assessing the quality and quantity of time with parents. A single self-report measure of parental strictness was utilized to assess parental socialization attempts.

Findings from the present study suggest that different qualities in the parent-child relationship may be associated with drinking among male and female adolescents. As expected, closeness to parents predicted adolescent drinking for the entire sample, with less close relationships between parents and children being associated with heavier alcohol use, although accounting for only 3% of the variance. Probes revealed that closeness predicted drinking only for girls, accounting for 6% of the variance in their drinking, while parental closeness was statistically unrelated to boys' drinking.

Challenging expectations, adolescent drinking was not predicted by the linear parental strictness variable for either gender. Rather than being associated with higher levels of parental strictness, boys' drinking was predicted by the quadratic strictness term. That is, moderate parental strictness was associated with the least drinking for boys. The quadratic parental strictness variable was not associated with alcohol use among girls. These findings stand in direct conflict with consistent findings of past research (Foxcroft

and Lowe, 1991), which indicated that stricter parenting was associated with less adolescent drinking for both sexes.

As adolescents mature there is an increased desire for autonomy. However, theory and research has traditionally disagreed over the course to healthy development for adolescents. Psychoanalytic theory argued that adolescents disengage from their parents, breaking the parent-child emotional bond (Freud, 1958). However, this view has not withstood the test of science. Rather, research suggests that despite changes in the parent-child relationship during adolescence, healthy development occurs with continued attachment. As Allen et al. (1994) note, "the process of achieving autonomy while maintaining a positive relationship with parents is increasingly being recognized as a critical stage-salient task of adolescence." Although my findings do not support the Contextual Model, they do support the consensus among adolescent researchers regarding what constitutes a healthy parent-adolescent relationship. These findings also suggest that the process of transforming the parent-adolescent relationship while maintaining a healthy connection may be very different for boys and girls.

In a study examining change in the parent-adolescent relationship utilizing the same sample as this study, Larson et al. (1995) found evidence of both developing autonomy and continued engagement. They found that older adolescents spent far less time with their parents than younger adolescents,

suggesting growing independence. However, despite the decrease in time spent with parents, older adolescents spent approximately the same amount of time talking to their parents as younger adolescents. The biggest change in the way parent-adolescent time was spent was through a decrease in passive activities such as watching television together. Gender differences in the way older adolescent girls and boys spent time will be linked to my findings later in the chapter.

Healthy adolescent independence therefore not only requires teenage children to increase the proportion of responsibility they take for their lives, but also that parents alter the way they relate to their offspring. For this to occur parents must view relinquishing some of their control as healthy and normative while simultaneously recognizing the limits of their child's competencies to make decisions for themselves (Holmbeck et al., in press). The path toward healthy development will be discussed separately for boys and girls. Boys will be discussed first.

Kaplan, Gleason, and Klein (1991) argue that boys' early sense of self is developed through separating from their mothers, usually the primary caregiver, with whom they experience themselves as different. Therefore, for boys separation and boundaries are important to a healthy self-concept and self-esteem. Gilligan (1982) asserts that the legalism prevalent in the play of boys represents their need to set interpersonal boundaries and develop an independent

identity. She notes that in watching young boys play games it becomes evident that arguing over the rules is an integral part of not only the game but the way that boys relate to one another.

Extending this contention, developing autonomy while maintaining a positive relationship with parents may occur through collaborative decision making with parents as adolescent boys mature. This collaborative decision making may be exemplified by moderate parental strictness. In this study it appears that boys who drank the least felt that their parents generally developed rules collaboratively with them, but the parents maintained control over the final decision. Therefore, for boys a healthy connection to parents may be encouraged through increased involvement in developing the rules which govern their lives. Adolescent boys who felt less involved in decision making about rules, those whose parents were either uninvolved or more autocratic, drank more than those who felt a part of making the rules.

Holmbeck and O'Donnell (1991) found that adolescents' whose mothers did not allow them increased autonomy reported lowered attachment to mother and lower self-concept. Less autonomy granting was also associated with increased levels of problem behaviors in their adolescents. These authors believe that healthy development is encouraged through parent-adolescent disagreement over rules, which are then negotiated and the issue settled, with parent and adolescent adapting to

the changes. Smetana (1988) found that adolescents and their parents typically disagree over whose jurisdiction particular rules fall under. As adolescents mature they generally expect the range of issues over which they have control to increase. However, adolescents whose parents don't allow increased autonomy over time may feel a lack of self-efficacy. Feeling unable to appropriately enlarge the range of issues over which they self-regulate, these adolescents may seek unhealthy expression of self-agency to combat feeling incapable. Holmbeck and O'Donnell argue that this may take the form of involvement with deviant peers, know to be a powerful predictor of adolescent alcohol use (Jessor & Jessor, 1977).

Utilizing a structured family problem solving task, Hauser et al. (1984) found that adolescents who were encouraged by parents to increase their involvement in problem solving had the strongest ego development. Ego development is associated with a wide range of healthy outcomes, including less problem behavior (Hauser et al., 1984). Taken together, the Holmbeck & O'Donnell (1991) and Hauser et al. (1984) studies indicate that parents who encourage healthy assertiveness in their adolescents may be indirectly discouraging behavior problems such as alcohol use. Similarly, Neilsen and Metha (1994) found that parental autonomy granting was associated with both higher sense of control (similar to internal locus of control) and self esteem. Unfortunately, none of these studies investigated

gender differences, so the presence of gender differences is unknown.

In contrast to boys, girls sense of self is developed in the context of being the same and therefore more continuous with their mother (Kaplan, et al., 1991). As a result of these differences in their early experience, empathy for others and the emotional tenor of interpersonal relationships tends to be more important to girls than to boys. Whereas Gilligan (1982) noted that boys may wish to argue over rule infractions in the games they play, she reported that girls were more likely to end a game rather than strain the relationship with friends through arguing.

The present study suggests that remaining emotionally engaged with parents may be particularly important to girls' development and in buffering them from heavy alcohol use. In Larson et al. (1995) noted earlier, these investigators found that older girls spent significantly more time talking about interpersonal issues with their parents than younger girls. Although older girls spent far less time with their families, talking to them about relationships appears to become even more important as a girl matures. As such, girls who feel alienated from their parents may be at especially high risk for low self-esteem, which may in turn lead to behavior problems such as heavier alcohol use. Less close relationships with parents is associated with lower self esteem, and a sense of rejection by adolescents (Simons et

al., 1989).

Lower self-esteem has been found to be associated with heavier substance use (including alcohol) (Kinnier, Metha, Okey, & Keim, 1994). In addition, Ashby (1994) found that a lack of control was associated with both lower self-esteem and increased levels of alcohol use. It appears that the effect of parental strictness on adolescent drinking may be mediated through a number of possible paths. Particular parental behaviors, strictness and closeness, may lead to healthier adolescent self-esteem, self-efficacy, or ego development, which may in turn result in decreased levels of alcohol use. The present findings suggest that the path from parenting style to healthy self-esteem, self-efficacy, or ego development may be different for boys and girls. For boys healthy self-esteem may develop through increased involvement in negotiating rules. For girls, high self-esteem seems to be encouraged through feelings of closeness to parents. These findings demonstrate the need for more research investigating possible mediators of parenting style on adolescent alcohol use.

Buttressing the claim that boys may seek greater sense of separateness and individuality than girls who may seek deeper, closer interpersonal relationships are findings from the portion of the paper examining the relationship between parenting style and adolescents' experience of time with parents. These results suggest that boys and girls experience

parental strictness differently and that this may have a significant impact on their lives. Specifically, compared to boys, girls with strict parents felt less in control, and tended to experience lower affect and more loneliness and arousal.

The relationship between parental strictness and each of these ESM variables was modest, accounting at most for 5% of the variance for the entire sample and 7% of the variance for girls. However, the number of gender interactions suggest that girls and boys experience parental strictness differently. These findings also illustrate the need for further investigation of gender differences in the experience of parental strictness-parental autonomy granting.

Girls negative experience of time with strict parents when compared with boys may represent a sense of disconnection with parents who apply rules in a manner that may feel external to girls. For boys negotiating rules may enhance their separate sense of competency and self esteem. Girls may experience parental strictness as straining to these primary relationships and may be inclined to seek experiences which are strengthening rather than straining to these attachments.

Despite theoretical support for my findings, it is interesting that my findings contradict a group of consistent past findings. Past research has found that parenting marked by strictness within a close parent-adolescent relationship results in the least drinking among adolescents (Foxcroft &

Lowe, 1991). However, the majority of past studies have used categorical data, grouping parental strictness into high and low categories (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1994), which would obscure curvilinear findings. Grouping the present data into Authoritative, Authoritarian, Indulgent, and Neglectful parenting style categories revealed no differences between high and low levels of parental strictness and no interactions between parental strictness and closeness. A recent report found that moderate parental strictness may be associated with less delinquency in adolescents (Mason, Cauce, Gonzales, & Hiraga, 1995). These preliminary findings indicate the need for further investigation of moderate parental strictness.

The portion of the paper assessing the relationships between the dimensions of parenting style and the daily experience of time with parents also provided interesting results. It was expected that adolescents who reported strict yet close parenting style would spend the most time with their parents and experience this time most positively. However, for none of the 12 ESM variables did this pattern of parenting style predict adolescents' report of more positive experience of time with parents. Instead, those who felt closer to parents (regardless of strictness) spent more time with their parents, felt more accepted and experienced parents as friendlier, compared to adolescents who reported feeling less close to their parents.

Parental strictness, in both linear and quadratic forms,

predicted more of the ESM variables than parental closeness. Parents' strictness was associated with the level of choice experienced with their parents. More parental strictness was associated with more choice, but those who reported moderate parental strictness experienced the most choice with parents. In addition, adolescents with moderately strict parents paid the most attention and felt the least ignored.

The linear parental strictness variable also predicted differences between boys' and girls' experience of time with parents across four ESM variables, as noted earlier. Although probes of these interactions did not consistently reveal statistically significant findings for either gender individually, girls with more strict parents tended to report lower affect, felt more aroused, more lonely, and felt less in control with their parents. Compared to girls, boys with strict parents tended to report more positive affect, lower arousal, more in control, and less lonely.

The third set of analyses investigated whether the quantity and quality of time spent with parents moderated the relationship between parental strictness and adolescent drinking. A positive experience of time with parents, when combined with strict parenting was expected to result in the least drinking by adolescents. These analyses uncovered one statistically significant three-way (sex by strictness by acceptance with parents) interaction relationship. Parental strictness combined with increased feelings of acceptance when

with parents resulted in slightly less drinking for boys, thus partially supporting the hypothesis for boys. Surprisingly, acceptance was related to slightly more drinking for girls, especially when combined with low strictness (See Figure 5). When the sample was split to probe these interactions, the modest sample size resulted in no statistically significant differences between groups. Rather, difference in the pattern of results between groups accounted for the statistically significant interaction.

In evaluating the reasons why the hypotheses derived from the Contextual Model were not supported by the data, it is important to assess the degree to which the data represent the constructs in the model. The specific data used in this study deviate from constructs proposed by Darling and Steinberg (1993) in two ways.

The measure of parental closeness appears to represent the type of relationship referred to by Darling and Steinberg (1993). Many important aspects which assess a positive and intimate parent-child relationship including support, emotional connection, and identification with parents are included. In addition, this measure was related to the dependent variable, adolescent drinking, in the manner expected.

However, the measure of parental strictness may be different from the construct as intended by Darling and Steinberg's (1993) model. First, these authors suggest

avoiding use of general parental strictness, as has often been used in the literature, in assessing the degree to which this parental demandingness is related to particular outcomes such as substance use or academic achievement.

In order to develop a deeper understanding of the influence that parenting style has on adolescent development Darling and Steinberg (1993) argue that it is necessary to assess parents' specific attempts to socialize their children about a particular issue. Investigations which use general parental strictness to measure socialization treat parents as if their socialization goals and priorities are identical. Attempts to understand differences in the effectiveness of parenting styles across racial and ethnic groups should consider possible differences in groups' priorities. These differences may be caused by varying life circumstances (Baumrind, 1991b; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Steinberg et al., 1991; Steinberg et al, 1992b). For example, Baumrind (1972) found that African-American girls from authoritarian homes were more self-confident and assertive. Baumrind (1991b) interprets that this parenting style may be the most effective way to rear and protect children in relatively unsafe urban environments.

Heeding the call for use of socialization measures which are domain-specific may be important. For example, the present study makes the assumption that parents equally seek to prevent drinking by their children. In fact, research

indicates that parents do not equally attempt to prohibit adolescents from alcohol consumption and the number of parental rules about drinking is negatively associated with adolescent drinking (Sellers & Winfree, 1990). Therefore, assessing the degree to which the quality of the parent-child relationship may impact the effectiveness of their socialization attempts, it is important to assess parents' attempts to prevent drinking in their children. This study fails to assess this important dimension. However, evaluating parents' specific rules moves this line of socialization research away from the effect of general child-rearing style into the assessment of specific parental rules and behaviors.

The strictness questionnaire also differs slightly in the area of parental strictness assessed by other studies (e.g., Foxcroft & Lowe, 1995; Baumrind, 1991a). As noted in the introduction, demandingness includes a number of parental behaviors, such as monitoring, making maturity demands, and parental control versus leniency. The measure used in this study assessed the degree to which parents maintain control over rules which regulate their children's lives, but it did not assess the relative strictness versus leniency of the rules. For example, questions on the strictness measure assessed who decides the amount of time spent on homework or who decides weekend curfew, not how much time students were expected to study or what time they were expected to be home on weekend nights. This measure, therefore, appears to

evaluate the degree of parental strictness versus parental autonomy granting, rather than strictness versus leniency. Past studies which found a negative association between parental strictness and adolescent drinking tended to measure parental monitoring or their strictness versus leniency in the content of rules, not the process of rules (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1994).

The scoring of the Decision Making Questionnaire and the fact that it assesses parental autonomy granting rather than parental leniency may clarify the surprising findings between moderate parental strictness and boys' drinking. Moderate scores on this measure represent parents' helping to guide the decision making of their child without leaving them too much decision-making autonomy while taking their child's needs/feelings into account. These findings contradict Baumrind's (1991a) assertion that contemporary adolescent risk-taking behavior can be most effectively discouraged through the use of increased parental strictness. Rather, moderate parental strictness that attempts to bring children into the decision-making process may discourage drinking and encourage development, at least for boys. Future research should include measurement of multiple aspects of parental strictness to determine the relationship between various dimensions of parental control and adolescent alcohol use.

Findings from this study also suggest that future studies should assess possible curvilinear relationships between

parental strictness and outcomes such as adolescent drinking. Grouping parenting style data into high and low strictness and closeness groups (e.g., Steinberg et al., 1991; Durbin et al., 1993; Lamborn et al., 1991) would obscure the assessment of curvilinear trends.

Two other aspects of the findings deserve mention. First, the lack of an interaction between parental strictness (in linear or quadratic form) and parental closeness to predict adolescent's drinking or their experience of time with parents was surprising. Second, strictness (as measured by the Decision Making Questionnaire) had a wider impact than closeness on the daily experience of time with parents. The Contextual Model suggests that parental closeness will make adolescents more responsive to parental demandingness. If parental closeness has this effect, it does not appear that the quality of time with parents, as measured by the ESM variables in this study, is the mechanism by which adolescents become more open to parental strictness.

One reason that the ESM variables assessing the quality of time with parents were not related to the independent variables as expected may be a result of the type of data used. The strength of the ESM is the ability to assess the quality of time spent with parents with minimum retrospective bias. However, in assessing the experience of time with parents, the present study utilized all data when the adolescent was with one or both parents. These data are

likely to be affected by a number of issues in addition to companionship.

For example, these data do not assess whether parent and child were interacting at the time they were signaled. Also, issues other than companionship could affect the subjective experience of participants when paged. These extraneous sources of variance may have obscured measurement of the experience of the relationship. Questionnaire data assessing aspects of the parent-child relationship used in other studies would be unaffected by these other forms of variance. Future studies using similar data would benefit from assessing only interactions that deal with parental socialization attempts, assertion of authority, or negotiation of rules between parents and adolescents rather than the quality of all time spent in the company of one another.

Conclusion

The Contextual Model was developed in part to understand differences between racial and ethnic groups' response to parenting style noted in the literature. However, generalizing findings of the present study is impossible due to the lack of diversity in the sample. Even within a relatively homogenous sample, many of the hypotheses from the contextual model were not supported.

However, the present findings suggest that parents remain an important factor in the healthy development of th eir adolescent children. Although different needs of boys and

girls may affect the specific manner in which parents buffer adolescents from heavier alcohol use.

The results of this study are based on cross-sectional data and therefore suggesting a causal direction is highly speculative. It is possible that parents of adolescents who engage in heavier alcohol use may respond to adolescent drinking rather than teenage drinking being the result of a specific set of parental behaviors. However, regardless of the causal direction, the present study suggests that different qualities of the parent-son and parent-daughter relationships are associated with less alcohol use. Specifically, work with families of adolescent girls is more likely to find focusing on closeness in the parent-adolescent relationship a fruitful strategy in discouraging alcohol use. In contrast, engaging boys in the development of rules may discourage heavier drinking.

The present findings also suggest that future research and clinical work using parenting style concepts should pay greater attention to gender. Healthy development of adolescent boys and girls may not be encouraged by the same parental behavior. Searching for a single manner in which parents should raise their adolescents may miss important differences in the paths toward healthy development for boys and girls.

APPENDIX A

ALCOHOL USE QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX A
ALCOHOL USE QUESTIONNAIRE.

AQ

THE QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION ASK ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCE WITH BEER, WINE AND LIQUOR. QUESTIONS WHICH ASK ABOUT YOUR USE OF ALCOHOL REFER TO EITHER BEER, WINE OR LIQUOR (GIN, VODKA, SCOTCH ETC.) PLEASE TRY TO ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS AS TRUTHFULLY AS POSSIBLE.

1. How old were you when you had your first drink of alcohol (not just a sip or taste)?

___ Can't remember	___ 11 years old	___ 16 years old
___ 7 years old	___ 12 years old	___ 17 years old
___ 8 years old	___ 13 years old	___ 18 years old
___ 9 years old	___ 14 years old	___ 19 years old
___ 10 years old	___ 15 years old	

___ Never have **(If never, skip to question 12)**

2. How often do you usually have an alcoholic drink (not including those at religious services)?

___ Everyday
___ 3 or 4 days a week
___ 1 or 2 days a week
___ 3 or 4 days a month
___ about once a month
___ Less than once a month, but at least once a year
___ Less than once a year

3. When did you last drink alcohol?

___ Not over a year ago	___ Last week or a few days ago
___ 6-12 months ago	___ Yesterday
___ Several weeks ago	___ Today

4. When you drink, what type of alcohol do you usually drink? (Check only one)

___Beer ___ Wine
___ Liquor (mixed drinks, shots)

5. Think of all the times you have had liquor recently. When you usually drink alcohol, how much do you usually have at one time, on the average?

___ 12 or more	___ 6 drinks	___ 3 drinks
___ 9-11 drinks	___ 5 drinks	___ 2 drinks
___ 7-8 drinks	___ 4 drinks	___ 1 drinks
		___ Less than one

6. What is the greatest amount of alcohol you have ever had at one time?

___ 12 or more	___ 6 drinks	___ 3 drinks
___ 9-11 drinks	___ 5 drinks	___ 2 drinks
___ 7-8 drinks	___ 4 drinks	___ 1 drinks
		___ Less than one

7. How often do you drink in the following settings?
At parties when others are drinking?
Never Sometimes Frequently Most of the time

Driving around or sitting in a car at night?
Never Sometimes Frequently Most of the time
At home with family?
Never Sometimes Frequently Most of the time
Alone when no one else is around?
Never Sometimes Frequently Most of the time

8. During the past year how often have you... (please circle)
Gotten into trouble at school because of your drinking?
None Once 2-3 times 4-5 times 6-9 times 10 or more
Had difficulties with your friends or your girlfriend/ boyfriend because of your drinking?
None Once 2-3 times 4-5 times 6-9 times 10 or more
Driven when you have had more than two drinks?
None Once 2-3 times 4-5 times 6-9 times 10 or more
Gotten into trouble with the police because of your drinking?
None Once 2-3 times 4-5 times 6-9 times 10 or more
Had trouble with your family because of your drinking?
None Once 2-3 times 4-5 times 6-9 times 10 or more

9. What is the strongest effect you have had from drinking alcohol?
___ A loose easy feeling ___ Became ill
___ Moderately high ___ passed out
___ Drunk

10. During the past year how often have you gotten drunk?
___ 0 to 1 time ___ 10 to 15 times
___ 2 to 3 times ___ 15 to 20 times
___ 4 to 5 times ___ 20 or more times
___ 6 to 10 times

11. At what time of day do you usually drink? (Check all that apply)
___ Morning ___ Night
___ Afternoon ___ It varies

12. On an average night, how much would you say your father drinks?
___ Does not drink ___ 4 drinks
___ 12 or more ___ 3 drinks
___ 9 - 11 drinks ___ 2 drinks
___ 6-8 drinks ___ 1 drinks
___ 5 drinks ___ Less than one

13. On an average night, how much would you say your mother drinks?
___ Does not drink ___ 4 drinks
___ 12 or more ___ 3 drinks
___ 9 - 11 drinks ___ 2 drinks
___ 6-8 drinks ___ 1 drinks
___ 5 drinks ___ Less than one

APPENDIX B

SELECTED ALCOHOL USE ITEMS BY DRINKING CATEGORY

APPENDIX B

Table 6.
Responses to Alcohol Involvement Questionnaire by Alcohol Use Group.

Variable	Non-Problem(80%)	Heavy(20%)
n	176	43
Gender		
male	73	25
female	103	18
Grade		
9	38	1
10	48	11
11	43	16
12	47	15
Age 1st drink		
mean	15.5	12
mode	never	13
Frequency	< 1X /mo	1-2X/week
Most recent	6-12 mo. ago	last week
Average amount		
mean	2	6-7
mode	nonuse	9-11
Greatest amount		
mean	5.5	9-11
mode	nonuse	12+
Strongest effect		
mean	moderately high	ill
mode	loose/easy feel	passed out
Problems (n)		
School	2 (1%)	6 (9%)
Friend	12 (7%)	23 (53%)
Drive	10 (6%)	23 (53%)
Police	2 (1%)	11 (25%)
Family	10 (6%)	19 (44%)

APPENDIX C

PARENTAL STRICTNESS QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX C

PARENTAL STRICTNESS QUESTIONNAIRE.

Families have different ways of making decisions about different things. How are decisions made about each of these things in your family? Check ONE line for each item.

	My parents tell me exactly what to do	My parents ask me opinion about this, but they have the final say	My parents leave this up to me to decide
1. Whether I do chores around the house.	_____	_____	_____
2. When I have to do my homework.	_____	_____	_____
3. How much time I have to spend on homework each day.	_____	_____	_____
4. What time I have to be home at night on weekends.	_____	_____	_____
5. Whether I have to be home for dinner.	_____	_____	_____
6. How I spend my own money.	_____	_____	_____
7. What sorts of clothes I wear to school.	_____	_____	_____
8. Which friends I spend time with.	_____	_____	_____
9. What time I have to go to sleep on school nights.	_____	_____	_____
10. How I spend my time after school.	_____	_____	_____

	My parents tell me exactly what to do	My parents ask me opinion about this, but they have the final say	My parents leave this up to me to decide
11. Whether I have to let my parents know where I am when I go out.	_____	_____	_____
12. Whether I could smoke cigarettes if I wanted to.	_____	_____	_____
13. Whether I can have friends over when my parents aren't home.	_____	_____	_____
14. How late I can stay out on weeknights.	_____	_____	_____
15. Whether I can have a job.	_____	_____	_____
16. Whether I have to go on family visits or outings.	_____	_____	_____
17. What I can watch on television.	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX D

PARENTAL CLOSENESS QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX D
PARENTAL CLOSENESS QUESTIONNAIRE.

THINK OF YOUR MOTHER (FATHER)
PLEASE CIRCLE THE NUMBER WHICH BEST ANSWERS EACH QUESTION BELOW. REMEMBER THAT YOUR RESPONSES WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.

HOW MUCH...	NOT AT ALL	A LITTLE	SOME	ALOT	VERY MUCH
1. DO YOU GO TO YOUR MOTHER FOR ADVICE ABOUT YOUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH FRIENDS?	1	2	3	4	5
2. DO YOU GO TO YOUR MOTHER FOR ADVICE ABOUT OTHER AREAS OF YOUR LIFE?	1	2	3	4	5
3. DO YOU WANT TO BE LIKE YOUR MOTHER?	1	2	3	4	5
4. DOES YOUR MOTHER ACCEPT YOU NO MATTER WHAT YOU DO?	1	2	3	4	5
5. DOES YOUR MOTHER UNDERSTAND WHAT YOU'RE REALLY LIKE?	1	2	3	4	5
6. DO YOUR SHARE YOUR INNER FEELINGS WITH YOUR MOTHER?	1	2	3	4	5
7. DOES YOUR MOTHER COME TO YOU FOR ADVICE?	1	2	3	4	5
8. IS YOUR MOTHER IMPORTANT TO YOU?	1	2	3	4	5
9. HOW SATISFIED ARE YOU WITH THE RELATIONSHIP YOU HAVE WITH YOUR MOTHER?	1	2	3	4	5
10. HAS THE WAY YOU GET ALONG WITH YOUR MOTHER CHANGED IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS?	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX E

REGRESSION TABLES

APPENDIX E

Table 7.

Regression Assessing Relationship between Parenting Style Variables and Adolescent Drinking for Sample, Boys and Girls

Sample

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Adolescent Drinking	211			
Step 1				
Gender		.01	2.37	-.11
Step 2				
Grade		.11	26.38***	.33***
Step 3				
Mother Drink		.02	4.51*	.14*
Step 4				
Intimacy		.03	6.74**	-.17**
Strictness		.00	.40	.04
Step 7				
Strictness^2		.01	2.16	.80
Step 8				
Strictness^2 X Sex		.02	.58	.24

Boys

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Adolescent Drinking	95			
Step 1				
Grade		.13	14.10***	.36***
Step 2				
Mother Drink		.00	.17	.04*
Step 3				
Intimacy		.01	1.24	-.11
Strictness		.00	.06	-.02
Step 4				
Strictness^2		.05	5.55*	1.73*

Girls

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Adolescent Drinking	116			
Step 1				
Grade		.10	12.37***	.31***
Step 2				
Mother Drink		.05	6.36**	.22**
Step 3				
Intimacy		.06	7.86**	-.24**
Strictness		.02	2.73	.14
Step 4				
Strictness^2		.01	2.15	-1.31

Note. (+= p<.10, *=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

APPENDIX F

REGRESSION TABLES

APPENDIX F

Table 8.
Regression Assessing Relationship between Parenting Style Variables and Affect when with Parents

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Affect with Parents	180			
Step 1				
Gender		.00	.78	-.07
Step 2				
Grade		.00	.08	.02
Step 3				
Intimacy		.00	.56	.06
Strictness		.00	.05	.02
Step 5				
Sex X Strictness		.02	3.86*	-1.23*

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

boys

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Affect with Parents	79			
Step 1				
Grade		.00	.26	-.06
Step 2				
Strictness		.04	2.88+	.19+
Intimacy		.00	.20	-.05

Note. (+= p<.10, *=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

girls

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Affect with Parents	101			
Step 1				
Grade		.01	.73	.09
Step 2				
Strictness		.02	2.02	-.14
Intimacy		.02	1.54	.12

Note. (+= p<.10, *=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

Table 9.
Regression Assessing Relationship between Parenting Style Variables and the Arousal when with Parents

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Arousal with Parents	179			
Step 1				
Gender		.02	4.14*	-.15*
Step 2				
Grade		.00	.00	.00
Step 3				
Intimacy		.00	.52	-.05
Strictness		.00	.02	.01
Step 4				
Sex X Strictness		.04	6.60**	1.59**

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

boys

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Arousal with Parents	78			
Step 1				
Grade		.01	.54	.08
Step 2				
Strictness		.03	2.08	-.17
Intimacy		.03	2.51	-.18

Note. (+= p<.10, *=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

girls

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Arousal with Parents	101			
Step 1				
Grade		.00	.37	-.06
Step 2				
Strictness		.03	3.50+	.19+
Intimacy		.00	.02	-.01

Note. (+= p<.10, *=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

Table 10.
Regression Assessing Relationship between Parenting Style Variables and the Friendliness of Parents when with Them.

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Friendliness of Parents	178			
Step 1				
Gender		.02	3.34+	-.13
Step 2				
Grade		.00	.00	.00
Step 3				
Intimacy		.10	21.13***	.32***
Strictness		.00	.27	-.04

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

Table 11.
Regression Assessing Relationship between Parenting Style Variables and Accepted when with Parents.

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Accepted with Parents	173			
Step 1				
Gender		.00	.33	-.04
Step 2				
Grade		.00	.04	.02
Step 3				
Intimacy		.03	5.21*	.17*
Strictness		.01	1.75	-.10

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

Table 12.
Regression Assessing Relationship between Parenting Style Variables and Ignored when with Parents.

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Ignored with Parents	178			
Step 1				
Gender		.01	.91	-.07
Step 2				
Grade		.02	3.86*	-.15*
Step 3				
Intimacy		.02	2.98	-.13
Strictness		.01	2.68	.12
Step 5				
Strictness^2		.02	3.63*	1.43*

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

Table 13.
Regression Assessing Relationship between Parenting Style Variables and Loneliness when with Parents.

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Lonely with Parents	178			
Step 1				
Gender		.00	.09	.02
Step 2				
Grade		.00	.04	.02
Step 3				
Intimacy		.02	2.84	-.13
Strictness		.00	.10	.02
Step 4				
Sex X Strictness		.03	5.00*	1.41*
Step 5				
Strictness X Sex X Grade		.02	4.09*	1.55*

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

boys

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Lonely with Parents	78			
Step 1				
Grade		.03	2.17	-.17
Step 2				
Strictness		.02	1.17	-.12
Intimacy		.00	.06	.03
Step 3				
Grade X Strictness		.00	.33	-.89

Note. (+= p<.10, *=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

girls

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Lonely with Parents	100			
Step 1				
Grade		.04	3.94*	.20*
Step 2				
Intimacy		.04	4.25*	-.20*
Strictness		.03	3.67+	.19+
Step 3				
Grade X Strictness		.02	1.71	1.80

Note. (+= p<.10, *=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

Table 14.
Regression Assessing Relationship between Parenting Style Variables and Attention when with Parents.

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Attention with Parents	185			
Step 1				
Gender		.04	6.74**	-.19**
Step 2				
Grade		.00	.20	-.03
Step 3				
Strictness		.02	3.34	.13
Intimacy		.01	2.87	-.12
Step 4				
Strictness^2		.02	4.14*	-1.47*

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

Table 15.
Regression Assessing Relationship between Parenting Style Variables and In Control when with Parents.

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
In Control with Parents	178			
Step 1				
Gender		.00	.14	.03
Step 2				
Grade		.01	2.10	.11
Step 3				
Intimacy		.00	.06	.02
Strictness		.00	.01	-.01
Step 4				
Sex X Strictness		.05	9.71**	-1.94**

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

boys

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
In Control with Parents	78			
Step 1				
Grade		.01	.75	.10
Step 2				
Strictness		.04	3.34	.21
Intimacy		.00	.09	.04

Note. (+= p<.10, *=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

girls

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
In Control with Parents	100			
Step 1				
Grade		.01	1.46	.12
Step 2				
Strictness		.07	7.46**	-.27**
Intimacy		.00	.05	-.02

Note. (+= p<.10, *=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

Table 16.
Regression Assessing Relationship between Parenting Style Variables and the Percent Time Spent with Parents.

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Time with Parents	224			
Step 1				
Gender		.00	.32	.04
Step 2				
Grade		.08	18.25***	-.28***
Step 3				
Intimacy		.03	6.35*	.16*
Strictness		.00	.54	-.05

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

Table 17.
Regression Assessing Relationship between Parenting Style Variables and Experience of Choice when with Parents.

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Choice with Parents	185			
Step 1				
Gender		.00	.26	-.04
Step 2				
Grade		.00	.10	.02
Step 3				
Strictness		.02	4.60*	.16*
Intimacy		.00	.42	.05
Step 5				
Strictness^2		.05	10.51***	-2.38***

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

APPENDIX G

REGRESSION TABLES

APPENDIX G

Table 18.
Regression Assessing Relationship between Parental Strictness, Accepted with parents, and Adolescent Drinking.

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Adolescent Drinking	169			
Step 1				
Gender		.00	.59	-.06
Step 2				
Grade		.10	18.79***	.32***
Step 3				
Mother Drink		.00	.70	.06
Step 4				
ESM Accepted		.01	1.16	-.08
Strictness		.00	.66	.06
Step 5				
Accepted X Strictness		.01	1.83	-.74
Step 6				
Sex X Accepted		.01	1.18	-.26
Step 7				
Strictness^2		.02	3.71	1.50
Step 8				
Sex X Strict X Accepted		.02	4.41*	3.82*

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

boys- high strict

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Adolescent Drinking	35			
Step 1				
Grade		.11	4.03*	.33*
Step 3				
Mother Drink		.00	.12	-.06
Step 4				
ESM Accepted		.02	.72	.14

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

boys- low strict

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Adolescent Drinking	37			
Step 1				
Grade		.07	2.79	.27
Step 3				
Mother Drink		.03	1.09	.17
Step 4				
ESM Accepted		.01	.28	-.09

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

girls-high strict

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Adolescent Drinking	47			
Step 1				
Grade		.04	1.70	.19
Step 3				
Mother Drink		.00	.14	.05
Step 4				
ESM Accepted		.01	.42	.10

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

girls-low strict

Variable	N	R^2Ch	FCh	Beta
Adolescent Drinking	50			
Step 1				
Grade		.18	10.28**	.42**
Step 3				
Mother Drink		.02	1.00	.13
Step 4				
ESM Accepted		.05	3.28	-.23

Note. (*=p<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001)

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